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The New York Times
Crime fighting's
about-face



**Inaugural
food fest**

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melodrama**

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Arafat: Our peace is with all Israelis



PA Chairman Yasser Arafat gives a double victory sign after addressing a crowd of some 50,000 in Hebron yesterday. (Reuters)

By JON IMMANUEL

In a conciliatory speech to the people of Hebron, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat yesterday told a crowd of some 50,000 that all the Israeli people had made peace with the Palestinians and the Palestinians seek no confrontation with the town's Jews.

He made no allusion to the fact that 20% of Hebron is still under IDF control, "Hebron," he said three times, "is liberated."

Arafat flew into Hebron by helicopter after midday. Fears that only a small crowd would greet him were soon dispelled, with the mass of people spilling out of the grounds of the former Israeli military headquarters, where he spoke from the balcony.

"We have made a peace agreement with all the Israeli people - Likud, Labor, Meretz, Shas, Kahalani," Arafat said. "There were 87 votes in the Knesset for peace, 87, 87, and that is something new in the Middle East... Therefore I say that all forces of peace in Israel have voted for this decision and together we will make a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East."

Arafat went on to say that, "I tell the settlers in Hebron we do not want confrontation." He mentioned a group of settlers who met with him in Bethlehem during his Christmas visit there and said they support a just peace.

"We are with a just peace, but just and comprehensive: Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon," he said.

Arafat's words contrasted with those of West Bank Preventive Security Chief Col. Jibril Rajoub on Saturday. Rajoub, who has moved his headquarters to Hebron, told a crowd of 3,000 that the settlers have no place in Hebron and are "a stone on our chest."

A statement by senior Israeli security officials yesterday condemned Rajoub's words as "grave incitement and a blatant violation of the spirit of the agreement, which Rajoub took part in reaching."

Referring to Jerusalem, Arafat spoke guardedly. Hebronites, he said, had protected the Arabness of

Jerusalem, usually repeating over and over that it is the capital of Palestine.

Arafat's most strident comment was his repeated reference to a comprehensive peace that must include Syria.

"If Israel fulfills all its obligations, we shall fulfill ours," Arafat said, repeating almost word for word Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's own demands.

Arafat gave the impression of being satisfied with the accord struck with Netanyahu. "In the agreement for the first time there is a letter of assurance from the United States," he noted.

In a spot interview with CNN, he said of Netanyahu, "Now we can say we are friends and we are partners in the peace process."

Arafat alluded to talks to continue on implementation of the interim stages, saying that women prisoners "will be freed in a few days, and the prisoners including [Hamas leader] Sheikh Ahmed Yassin will be freed soon."

However, Michael Stoltz, a spokesman for Netanyahu, said, "There are no plans to release him at this point."

Despite popular support for Hamas in Hebron, Arafat made no other reference to the Islamic group. There was little sign of opposition to Arafat in the city, which was gaily decorated with Palestinian flags.

Hillel Kuntler adds: Netanyahu commended Arafat for his conciliatory words toward

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Settlers unimpressed with speech, Page 2

Jerusalem, referring to the large number of Jerusalemites of Hebron origin.

"A promise is a promise, an oath is an oath unto Jerusalem," he added, and later he spoke of his hope to pray both in Hebron's Ibrahimiyeh Mosque (the Machpela Cave) and Jerusalem's Al-Aksa Mosque.

"Hebron is the beginning of the process which will bring us areas B and C and will lead to an independent Palestinian state," he said, but did not specifically mention the area of the state nor did he mention Jerusalem as its capital.

In previous speeches marking the handover of Palestinian towns to his control, Arafat always strongly emphasized the matter of

70,000 arrive in Washington for Clinton inauguration

WASHINGTON (AP) - By plane, train and car, thousands of people spilled into Washington yesterday for the 53rd inauguration of a US president.

President Bill Clinton worked with pen, pad and tape recorder, searching for an inaugural address theme that will catch in the nation's memory. He was reelected in November to a second and, by law, final term.

Planners said they expect 70,000 visitors, packing hotels, restaurants, museums and tents on the Mall from which the speech will be seen. Frigid temperatures gripped the nation's capital, and visitors bundled up against the cold.

The three-day observation began with Washington and its visitors in a festive but tempered mood.

Democrats had reason to celebrate the first reelection of a Democratic president since Franklin D. Roosevelt and polls putting Clinton's popularity at its highest level since his first inauguration.

But the newness and unchecked promise of four years ago were absent, and between Clinton and his goals stands a Republican Congress with ideas of its own.

Still, for the moment, partisanship was set aside. The capital looked glorious as banners and bunting flicked in the breeze. Today's swearing-in of Clinton and Vice President Al Gore promised to occur in weather that's crisp, clear and free of snow - better than usual.

"It's freezing cold," shivered an inaugural visitor from San Francisco, schoolteacher Jeanne Bierhart. That didn't keep her from trooping to Pennsylvania Avenue to take photos of the White House. "I'm just happy to be here," she said.

Clinton and his wife, Hillary, began yesterday going to Columbia Baptist Church in nearby Falls Church, Virginia, for a service by his homestate pastor, the Rev. Rex M. Horn of Little Rock, Arkansas. The Clintons also attended services at Foundry Methodist Church.

Army IDs September pilot crash victim

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

The IDF announced last night that forensic experts have identified the body of Cmdr. Zion Bachar, pilot of the navy Dolphin helicopter which crashed into the sea last September 16. DNA tests were carried out on body parts collected the day after the crash.

Bachar is to be laid to rest today at the military cemetery in Holon, the IDF Spokesman said.

The Dolphin crashed off the northern coast and was raised from the seabed two weeks later. Three servicemen died in the crash. The body of the co-pilot was located hours after the wreck; but the body of Ensign Erna Gravia is yet to be found.

F-15 nosedives in Negev, crew escapes

Meanwhile, an IAF F-15 fighter jet crashed during training yesterday, plummeting nose-first into the grounds of Kibbutz Revivim in the Negev. The pilot and navigator ejected safely and landed in the kibbutz's ostrich farm, where they were rescued by angry kibbutzniks.

"They landed on our ostrich farm," said Revivim resident Adin Kaveh. "They got tangled up in their static lines. Kibbutzniks rescued them and then air force helicopters started landing to take them away."

Dozens of the valuable but skittish birds suffocated, he said.

It was not clear whether the crash was due to a technical malfunction

or human error. But a board of inquiry appointed by OC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliyahu is expected to reach a conclusion quickly, since both airmen survived.

The crash was the first of the \$40 million aircraft since August 1995, when an F-15 collided with a flock of storks. Two airmen were killed in that mishap.

This time, the F-15 was flying high over the kibbutz when one of its engines apparently cut out and it started to spin out of control, said witness Yitzhak Edri.

The pilots bailed out and the jet creamed into the earth nose first and

went up in smoke. It was all over in a matter of seconds," Edri said.

The IDF Spokesman said the two airmen were evacuated to a hospital for treatment.

Noise from the explosion, followed by the landing of the two airmen, and subsequent arrival of evacuation helicopters reportedly caused the ostriches to dart back and forth in panic. Dozens of the birds, which cost thousands of shekels each, suffocated, Itim reported.

Kibbutz members said there was virtually nothing left of the F-15.

The US-built jet is considered one of the finest fighters in the world.

During the coming year, Israel expects to receive the first of 25 advanced F-15s, which will cost a total of over \$2 billion.

Chimps stay healthy with human flu remedy

By JUDY SEGEL

Chimpanzees serving as "guinea pigs" for the testing of an herbal flu remedy for humans are lapping up the elixir at the Tisch Family Jerusalem Biblical Zoo. The elderberry syrup - manufactured in Jerusalem and sold in pharmacies and health stores around the world under the name Sambucol - has apparently produced a cough- and fever-less winter for the monkeys.

"They sleep curled up together in clusters," said Sambucol developer Dr. Madeleine Mumcuoglu, a virology researcher who left the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School to set up her own company, Razei Bar, in the Matza industrial park last October. "This makes them susceptible to infecting each other with winter flu and other viral diseases, which are the same as those suffered by humans."

Ape-keeper Beverly Burg-Beri, who had been taking Sambucol to relieve or even prevent her own colds and flu, decided that the syrup couldn't hurt the chimpanzees. With permission from zoo director Shai Doron and chief veterinarian Dr. Gabi Eshkol, she gave plain fruit juice to a control group of six and a tablespoonful of Sambucol to the other six.

"Four months into the project, we have had several incidences of cold-like symptoms in the control group, which lasted two to six days. In the group receiving Sambucol, we have observed either none, or symptoms lasting 24 hours or less," said Burg-Beri. "A check of the health records for previous years showed that by this time of year, several mild to severe outbreaks of viral-like infections had already occurred."

She added that "the animals love" the syrup, and the chimps in the

Continued on Page 2

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NEWS

in brief

Prosecutor ridicules Suissa's testimony

Prosecutor Yehoshua Reznick yesterday cast doubt on the testimony of Interior Minister Eli Suissa, called as a defense witness in the ongoing fraud and bribery trial of former interior minister Aryeh Deri. Suissa was called to impugn the testimony of another Shas former interior minister, prosecution witness Yitzhak Peretz, who told the court he had asked Deri to be his director-general. Suissa testified, however, that Peretz had done everything to block Deri's appointment and had offered Suissa the job. Reznick ridiculed Suissa's testimony, noting that Shas mentors rabbis Eliezer Schach and Ovadia Yosef had decided on Deri's appointment and that Peretz had carried it out. *Tim*

Husband of baby-killing suspect threatens suicide

The 10-year-old daughter of a woman suspected of murdering her newborn baby was transferred to the care of the Hadera welfare department yesterday, after her father suffered a nervous breakdown and demanded mental care and economic support. The man, claiming he and his daughter had been the focus of hostility from the community ever since his wife's alleged crime became known last week, barricaded himself and the child in his home Saturday night and threatened to detonate a gas canister. Police talked him out of it and took him and his daughter into custody. *Tim*

Policeman lightly wounded on Temple Mount

A 14-year-old Arab girl tried to stab a policeman in the back on the Temple Mount yesterday, then tried to flee after she missed. The policeman ran after her and caught her, but was stabbed lightly in the hand when she disarmed her. *Tim*

Man murdered same week his son was born

Ali Bin Hassan Daoud, 30, a sanitation worker from Abu Siman in the Galilee, was found murdered yesterday. He had disappeared on Thursday, shortly before his son was born. The body was found by coworkers in a garbage truck in the village. *Tim*

Yeshivat Hakotel Wohl Torah Center

Share in the deep grief of Harav and Rabbanit Tzvi Billet on the death of

ARTHUR KATZ אהרן בן יצחק הכהן ז"ל

Father of Rachel (Rookie) Billet.

The funeral will be today, Monday, January 20, 1997, early afternoon, at the Eretz Hachaim Cemetery, Beit Shemesh.

For more information: 02-628-8175, 624-1920, 626-4754.

With deep sorrow we announce the death of our dearly beloved mother and grandmother

SAIDA BALASS-KORINE

Sons: Victor, David, Yossef, Elias and Sami
Daughters: Bertine and Florence

Shiva at the home of the deceased, 99 Rehov Ibn Gabirol, Tel Aviv

Our heartfelt condolences to our dear Angela Clairmont, and to George and Ann and their children on the passing of our friend

MARCEL M. CLAIRMONT

a great benefactor to many institutions, families and individuals in Israel

Josef, Raya and Nurith Jaglom
Elian and Nurit Jaglom
and their children



The Directors and Staff mourn the passing of their former colleague

LEAH GORALSKY לאה גוראלסקי

who devoted many years of her life to assisting new olim. We extend sincere condolences to all her family.

With deep sorrow we announce the death of our beloved

LEAH GORALSKY née Chernys

on Sunday, January 19, 1997. Funeral services were held at Eretz Hachayim Cemetery, Beit Shemesh.

Deeply mourned by her:
Mother, Sophie Chernys
Children, Tali, Micky and Eitan
Brothers, Ze'ev Chernys
Lenny Chernys
Norman Shachar
and families
Sister, Yehudit Shahar and family

Shiva at 1/23 Rehov Tiberias, Beersheba. In lieu of flowers, remembrances can be made to any immigrant aid society.

Hebron Jews unimpressed with PA peace rhetoric

By HERB KERNON

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's statements in Hebron yesterday that he is not looking for a conflict with the settlers left Hebron's Jews unimpressed.

Instead, they focused on comments made the day before by Jibril Rajoub, head of the Palestinian Preventive Security Service, who said the city's Jews do not belong there and made a lightly veiled call for their expulsion.

Settlement leader Noam Amon said that if the government does not take stringent action against Rajoub for his statements, "we will take other actions." He did not elaborate.

"I tend to believe Rajoub," said settlement spokesman David Wilder. "Besides, Arafat has consistently called for jihad. It is yet to be seen if his words [about not wanting a conflict with the settlers] have any substance to them. If he is serious, he should dismiss Rajoub."

Wilder termed "nonsense" an Israel Radio report that Palestinian plainclothes security men were protecting the

Jewish compounds in the city — and settlers, including Rabbi Moshe Levinger — without them knowing it.

"We are not aware of Palestinian escorts," Wilder said. "And we are not interested in any escorts. They [the Palestinians] have no legal right to have armed security forces in H2 [the Israeli part of Hebron]. We prefer not to trust our security to Arafat's security forces. Last time we did something like that, 67 were killed [in the 1929 massacre], and the Jewish community in Hebron was destroyed."

Levinger told Israel Radio that he knows nothing about Palestinian security men protecting him. "I have never seen it, and would completely reject it. This man [Rajoub] ... it is forbidden to rely on him, or his forces, or a security man he would want to give anyone."

A rally in support of the settlement is scheduled for today at the Machpela Cave, and Wilder said a number of people will tear their garments in mourning because control of Hebron has been given to non-Jews.

In a related matter, the Samaria and Judea police district

filed aggravated assault charges yesterday against Amon, stemming from an incident in the Machpela Cave in December, in which he allegedly attacked a police officer. Amon maintains that he was attacked by the policeman. The incident caused an uproar because Amon, who is religious, was transported to a lockup in Ashkelon on Shabbat.

Moledet MK Benny Elon, who visited the settlement yesterday, called on Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani to replace the top police officers in Hebron. Elon said that police there do not realize that their job description has now changed, and that now their only job is to protect the Jews in the city.

Meanwhile, Noam Federman, presently under administrative detention, was acquitted yesterday of disturbing the peace and threatening a police officer in a synagogue in Jericho six years ago. Israel Radio reported that this was the 16th time Federman has been acquitted in the last four years; 13 other cases were dropped for lack of evidence and he was convicted five other times.

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

By JON IMMANUEL

Hebron came alive yesterday as Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat arrived in town for the first time since he organized a Fatah cell there in 1965.

The first few days saw little of the excitement that marked the departure of Israeli troops from staunch Fatah towns like Jenin and Nablus more than a year ago, and there were doubts about the warmth of his reception. PA workers swathed the city in Palestinian flags and Arafat posters to create the right mood.

Hebron has always been considered different, both because of its elaneness and its introverted Islamic conservatism, which made it more identified with Hamas. It has been so closely associated with Islamic fundamentalism in the eyes of Israelis that people forget that after the Six Day War its leaders enjoyed excellent relations with Israeli leaders. Hebron was slow to join the intifada and though it has borne much ill-will by and towards the reconstructed Jewish community there, it is almost impossible to imagine such a community surviving in a Fatah town like Nablus.

But yesterday, the crowds came out in Hebron. Whether organized by the Fatah brigades or not, the excitement seemed genuine. Sentiment was overwhelmingly pro-Arafat and the atmosphere was slightly unreal as settlers, including Rabbi Moshe Levinger, the father of Jewish settlement, watched Palestinian schoolchildren parading past the Avraham Avinu complex waving Palestinian flags.

More unreal was the Israel Radio claim that plainclothes Palestinian security men were tailing Levinger for his protection. Preventive security chief Jibril Rajoub denied the claim.

A busy town of grave merchants and businessmen, Hebron seemed more active than usual yesterday.



Palestinians in Hebron clamor to get a good spot to see Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat, who addressed the crowd yesterday from the former IDF military headquarters, seen in the background. (Reuters)

Perhaps as a sign of lighter things to come, an establishment called The Happy Bunny Restaurant was in the last stage of completion. Western-style restaurants and coffee shops have sprung up in more laid-back towns like Ramallah, where Hebron businessmen invest heavily, but now Hebron itself seems to be following suit.

Perhaps the most significant tribute to Hebron's changing views of the peace process was a car with a Hebron license plate which bore the Hebrew sticker "Shalom Haver" driving down the main street. Even before Arafat made his moderate speech, ootables in the crowd were voicing the

same conciliatory sentiments he expressed.

"Of course the settlers never gave anyone any kind of trust. If they like to live as human beings everywhere let them earn trust, but thick-minded actions won't earn any trust," said Abdel-Salaam Abu Shakheidem, mufti of the Palestinian security forces.

"It is the beginning of a long, painful, complex road. I would say that for both Palestinians and Israelis it is cheaper to negotiate for a year than to fight for five minutes. We are trying to make peace with all Israelis, not with part of Israel," said Saeb Erekat, who led the tortuous talks on Hebron.

For Abu Shakheidem, the bottom line of trust was settler recognition of Moslem supremacy in

Hebron. For Erekat, partnership means Israeli recognition of a Palestinian state.

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ARAFAT

Continued from Page 1

the Jewish residents of Hebron yesterday.

"I do want to say that I also was struck by the fact that his tone was different when he talked in Hebron about accommodation with the Israelis, the Jewish residents of Hebron, and I think that's a very good move," Netanyahu told CNN.

"I think what we need now is a series of meetings between the Jewish ... and Palestinian residents of Hebron to lower the tensions and to continue this trend," he said.

Asked on ABC Television about the Palestinians' failure to abide by their commitments under the Oslo Accords, Netanyahu said that with the Hebron agreement now listing both sides' obligations, "a measure of compliance on one side will determine the measure of compliance on the other side."

While he was quick to add, "There is not a specific linkage of any kind," Netanyahu said that the era of Israel not enforcing Palestinian compliance "has come to an end."

CHIMPS

Continued from Page 1

control group who got a whiff of Sambucol now refuse to take the placebo. "This is for us very important, as it is impossible to force a full-grown chimp to take any medication he or she doesn't like."

Eshkar, who has vaccinated staffers against influenza, says that since the winter has been mild and could be responsible for the low rate of infection in all the animals, the zoo intends to give the chimps preventive doses of Sambucol in another year to test it under more difficult conditions.

Mumcuoglu said her 15 employees each week manufacture 20,000 bottles of the syrup, made by a patent-pending technique from European extracts of elderberries.

Kibbutz Kfar Hanassi

sadly announces the passing of

CLAIR NEY לאה ניי

The funeral will take place on Monday, January 20, 1997, at 3 p.m. at the kibbutz cemetery

Our condolences to George, Johanna and family

We are heartbroken to announce that our beloved wife, mother and grandmother

NOMI LEV-YAHM

passed away on January 19, 1997.

The funeral will take place on Tuesday, January 21, 1997, at 11 a.m. at the Yarkon Cemetery.

Her loved ones, Bar-On and Feingold families

To the Balass family

Deepest sympathy on the passing of your

MOTHER לאה

Family Mussaffi
Family Peress
Family Georgi
Family Iskin

The family of the late

LUTZ HAMMERSCHLAG

announces that the funeral will be held at the Ra'anana Cemetery at 12 noon today, Monday, January 20.

Prayers at 33/9 Rehov Har Sinai, Ra'anana.

CommStock Trading Ltd. 14/1/97

INTERNAL MEMO

TO: Eli Cohen, Director, Israeli Securities Department
FROM: David Zwebner, President
RE: A job well done

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Labor talks resume at Haifa Chemicals

By DAVID RUDGE

Talks resumed yesterday between Haifa Chemicals' management and workers in an effort to end the dispute which has stopped production at the bayside factory for over three months.

Hundreds of angry strikers congregated at the Haifa Chemicals plant last night after learning of the National Labor Court's ruling banning them from continuing their protest inside the bayside facility.

They barricaded the entrance to the factory with containers. Some workers took up positions inside, apparently preparing to resist any attempts to evict them by force.

Yigal Cohen, head of the Histadrut Haifa branch's trade union department, managed to

calm the crowd, but the workers decided to remain at the plant overnight.

A mass meeting is scheduled to be held at the factory today, during which Histadrut officials will explain the court ruling to the workers and update them on the negotiations with management.

The negotiations broke down last Wednesday over two issues and there were reports that Haifa Chemicals owner Arye Geiger was considering closing the plant if an agreement wasn't reached in the near future.

The Histadrut, for its part, has warned that it would initiate union sanctions against the firm's other factory, which is south of Beersheba, if no progress were made in the talks over a new collective labor agreement.

Management wants to cut staff costs by 30 percent to enable the firm to compete profitably in overseas markets. The firm originally insisted on firing 120 employees.

The talks restarted at the Dan Caesarea hotel at 7:30 p.m. and were expected to continue through the night. Earlier in the afternoon, the National Labor Court issued a ruling preventing striking workers from continuing a sit-in protest at the plant.

The court, however, did give permission for the nine-member workers committee to have access to the factory and hold meetings there.

The ruling was in response to an appeal by management against the Haifa Regional Labor Court's decision to allow 18 workers to continue to picket inside the factory.

PM seen softening stand over Golan Heights

By HILLEL KUTTLER, DAVID RUDGE and news agencies

WASHINGTON - Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, in a series of interviews yesterday on American TV, did not repeat his statement that Israel would not withdraw from the Golan Heights in a peace deal with Syria.

Asked yesterday whether he would be willing at any point to surrender the Golan, Netanyahu told Fox News that the area is a "very important piece of real estate for us... so obviously we will present our views in the negotiations and the Syrians will present their views."

The remarks fell short of those he made in an interview with the French newspaper *La Figaro* that appeared Saturday, in which Netanyahu said that the Golan was "absolutely not negotiable."

In another interview yesterday with ABC TV's *This Week*, Netanyahu said he thought Israel and Syria "will find a way" to resume talks and that he had ideas on how to bring that about.

The Prime Minister's Office last night issued a statement saying, "In any future negotiations, both sides should feel free to raise its claims. This includes territorial claims."

Netanyahu refused to comment on Israeli



Prime Minister Netanyahu (Ariel Jerozolimski)

ous talks between the Labor government and Syria over Golan security arrangements are annulled.

Al-Thawra, the Syrian government newspaper wrote yesterday, "Netanyahu will be deluding himself if he ever thinks that he could succeed in keeping the Golan forever."

Meanwhile, *Yediot Aharonot* reported that according to a new Egyptian proposal, Syria would agree to restart the talks if Netanyahu declares he accepts the principle of land for peace in general.

Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani sharply attacked Syrian President Hafez Assad yesterday, saying that Assad "doesn't want peace... but he wants American money and the pride of getting back the Golan Heights."

Speaking to high school pupils in Ramat Gan, Kahalani said that if Assad really was interested in peace, he would show some sign of it.

Meanwhile, a Golan lobby group which accepts the principle of territories for peace has welcomed the Hebrew agreement as a continuation of the policies of former prime ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres.

Yigal Kipnis, founder and head of the Derech Leshalom group, said the signing of the accord was a step towards achieving a comprehensive peace which would have to include an agreement with Syria.

press reports that Secretary of State Warren Christopher signed a letter stating that previ-

Left looks to boycott Arutz 7

By MICHAL YUDELMAN

Labor MKs yesterday called on their colleagues to boycott Arutz 7, the right-wing pirate radio station, and will try to stop Labor Party chairman Shimon Peres from giving an interview to the station next Sunday.

An interview with Labor leadership candidate MK Ehud Barak broadcast on Arutz 7 yesterday triggered angry protests from Labor MKs and others on the Left, who called on MKs to curb their "microphone lust."

Labor MK Eitan Cabel sent a letter to all the party's MKs urging them to refuse to give interviews or cooperate in any way with the station, because it is operating illegally and incited against the late prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin.

Cabel spoke to Barak, who told him that he had been asked to appear on Eitan Danzig's program *Interview of the Week* some seven months ago. Barak finally agreed to do it, in an attempt to address listeners not likely to be identified with Labor.

"We don't want to exclude any sector of the public," a source close to Barak said, noting that Labor lost last year's elections because it had no connection to certain parts of the population. Speaking on Arutz 7 does not mean one agrees with them, the

source added, noting that many Labor leaders have been interviewed on the station, including Ori Orr, Uzi Baram, Dalia Itzik, and Peres himself.

Itzik, head of Labor's response team, admitted she was in a dilemma concerning Arutz 7, which had branded Rabin a "traitor." She said she would try to convince Peres not to do the interview, which is scheduled to be broadcast next Sunday.

"Peres has been the target of such tirades of hatred and bitterness from that station and there is no reason for him to be interviewed there," she told *Israel Radio*.

As for her own appearance on Arutz 7, Itzik

said, "Until the elections and for a long time afterwards I refused to cooperate with the station. Last week I broke down and gave them an interview, because I thought it was wrong to abandon their listeners to the station's wild incitement."

She said Labor, when it was in power, failed to close the illegal station "because they were afraid of the public represented by that station and no one dared mess with them. Maybe Cabel is right and we should boycott the station until they clean up their act."

Meretz leader MK Yossi Sarid blasted "the shameful interviews" given by Labor MKs to Arutz 7. "Labor's MKs should stop looking for excuses to justify speaking

on Arutz 7, a subversive channel trying to acquire an air of legitimacy," Sarid said.



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WORLD

in brief

Dogs join democracy demonstrations in Serbia

BELGRADE (Reuters) - Serbia's colorful protest movement trotted out a new strategy yesterday, getting hundreds of pet dogs to walk - and sometimes bark - for democracy. Hundreds of dogs joined their masters for a 63rd straight day of street protests against the ruling Socialists' annulment of opposition victories in municipal elections. Nine weeks of demonstrations by Serbia's Zajedno (Together) coalition have been distinctive for non-violence, creativity and humor, and yesterday's rally of the dogs was no exception.

Sunni militants set Iranian center on fire

LAHORE, Pakistan (AP) - A mob of 500 Sunni militants set an Iranian cultural center on fire yesterday to avenge the bombing a day earlier at a Lahore courthouse that killed their leader and seriously wounded several of their followers. There were no injuries but the colonial-style building was completely gutted, according to eyewitnesses. The mob railed against Iran, accusing Tehran of supporting Pakistan's militant Shi'ite Muslims, whom they blame for Saturday's powerful explosion that killed 25 people and wounded at least 100.

S. Korea softens stance on unionists

SEOUL (Reuters) - South Korea said yesterday it would delay arresting seven fugitive union leaders holed up in a Seoul cathedral after they agreed to halt indefinite strikes against a new labor law that have hit industry for more than three weeks. The domestic Yonhap News Agency quoted a senior official from the Seoul District Prosecutor's Office as saying police had put off storming Myongdong Cathedral to arrest the unionists. Despite the softening government stance, violent clashes continued between riot police and students, showing passions over the law were still inflamed.

New Bulgarian president urges quick election

SOFIA (Reuters) - Bulgaria's new president Petar Stoyanov was sworn in yesterday and gave his support to opposition demands for a quick general election to end the country's political crisis. The governing Socialists have offered elections by the end of the year and a second Socialist cabinet in the meantime. The opposition wants elections sooner and opposes any new government led by the former communists.

Balloonist to end trans-global flight

CHICAGO (AP) - Millionaire balloonist Steve Fossett is calling it quits. Fossett's ground crew in Chicago says his long-distance flight continues for now, but they expect him to land around 0700 GMT today, either in India or Bangladesh. Fossett's support team says the balloon does not have enough fuel to complete the trip. Fossett had hoped to become the first balloonist to travel around the world non-stop. He began his trip last Monday in St. Louis.

Former senator Tsongas dead at 55

BOSTON (AP) - Former US Senator Paul E. Tsongas, who pushed ahead of Bill Clinton to become the Democratic front-runner for president briefly in 1992, died Saturday of pneumonia. He was 55.

Hutus kill 6 in Rwanda

By CHRIS TOMLINSON

KIGALI, Rwanda (AP) - Hutu insurgents attacked Rwanda's third-largest town, leaving six people dead in the most serious rebel assault in more than two years, a senior U.N. official said yesterday.

In an apparently coordinated operation, Hutu militants late Saturday and early yesterday attacked three locations in Ruhengeri, about 96 kilometers northwest of Kigali. Two of the attacks were on aid agency compounds, said the UN official. "We have asked the army to send reinforcements to supply extra security for the agencies working up there," the UN official said. "We have told everyone to stay in their houses."

Three Rwandan staffers died in the compound housing the French aid agencies Doctors of the World and Doctors Without Borders and the British branch of Save the Children, said the UN official. Three soldiers were killed when Rwandan troops responded to the attacks.

One American was hit by gunfire and his leg was amputated in an emergency operation early yesterday morning, said a US Embassy official who spoke on condition of anonymity. The man was to be evacuated later yesterday, the diplomat said.

Violent clashes between the Tutsi-dominated army and Hutu insurgents have increased in the past few weeks, following the return of more than a million Rwandan Hutu refugees from neighboring countries.

The refugees had fled Rwanda in mid-1994 fearing reprisals for the slaughter of more than 500,000 people, most of them Tutsis and politically moderate Hutus. The killing stopped when Tutsi-led rebels seized control of the country in July 1994.

It was the fourth violent incident in a week involving foreigners in Rwanda. Gunmen attacked a hospital staffed with foreign doctors a week ago, struck a UN human rights team last Monday and fired on a UN vehicle on Tuesday. Nobody was killed in those incidents.

Saddam re-establishes link to British arms suppliers

By DOUGLAS DAVIS

LONDON - Iraqi President Saddam Hussein reportedly has revived his British arms acquisition network and within a month may be able to produce Scud missiles capable of carrying conventional and non-conventional payloads.

According to a major report in the *London Sunday Times* yesterday, Iraqi agents have covertly targeted a number of British companies in London, Birmingham, Southampton and Reading.

The Department of Trade and Industry, which supervises export licenses by British firms, confirmed that it had received reports of suspected Iraqi orders from British companies and would investigate.

One Western businessman who visited an Iraqi installation recently said he had been shown drawings of Scud parts.

At a facility on the outskirts of Baghdad, he was told that plans had been devised to use British machine tools to help make engines for medium-range Scud missiles with a range of 650 kilometers. Production of these missiles is forbidden by UN resolutions.

At another military complex south-west of Baghdad, which has been used to produce precision-engineered parts for tanks and armored vehicles, the businessman learned that machine tools exported to Iraq by Britain's Matrix Churchill in the 1980s were still operational.



Safe Haven

A rescue worker carries to safety an unidentified child who was forced to spend the night in a cave along with nine other people, after their tourist boat sank after hitting rocks while sailing close to Spain's Canary Island of La Palma on Saturday. The boat's captain and a female passenger died in the accident. Five of those rescued are of German nationality. (AP)

Danish bombers targeted British leftists, athletes

COPENHAGEN (Reuters) - Danish extremists arrested in police raids planned to send letter bombs to British leftists and sports personalities married to blacks, Danish Justice Minister Frank Jensen told a newspaper yesterday.

A police court yesterday remanded five Danes for 27 days, the first 13 to be spent in isolation, and freed two on bail after the raids and the retrieval of three letter-bombs posted in nearby Sweden to addresses in London.

"They were intended for people known as left-leaning and sportspeople married to blacks," Jensen told the Danish *Berlingske Tidende*.

The *Politiken* newspaper said British police had alerted the

intended recipients and briefed them on what to do with if they received a suspicious package.

The paper said that neo-Nazi literature and symbols were found during Saturday's raids in Copenhagen and in a seaside village north of the capital, along with detonators, a nine-millimeter pistol and a pump-action shotgun.

The only one of the seven to be named by police, 26-year-old Thomas Derry Nakaba, shot a policeman in the groin as detectives forced their way into his home but said he fired because he thought the raiders were leftist enemies out to kill him.

Danish police were alerted to the group's activities by Britain's

Scotland Yard through a police intelligence clearinghouse in Wiesbaden, Germany, newspapers said.

Detectives followed Nakaba to the Swedish port of Malmo, a short ferry ride from Copenhagen, where he posted three devices disguised as video tapes. They were later retrieved by Swedish police and found to contain charges sufficient to maim, but not kill.

British Sky television news on Saturday quoted sources saying Nakaba had connections with an extreme-right British organization, Combat 18, so called after the first and eighth letters of the alphabet - A and H - the initials of Adolf Hitler.

Pluto discoverer dead at 90

LAS CRUCES, New Mexico (AP) - Clyde Tombaugh, the astronomer who discovered the planet Pluto before he even had a college degree, is dead at the age of 90.

Tombaugh spotted Pluto, the ninth planet from the sun, in 1930 when he had just turned 24, a Kansas farm boy who didn't yet have a college degree.

On February 18, 1930, he spotted a small shift in the position of one object - the mysterious Planet X, later named Pluto.

"For three-quarters of an hour, I was the only person in the world who knew exactly where Pluto was," he later said.

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Last date for submitting bids: February 25, 1997, at 11 a.m.

TENDER	DESCRIPTION	Cost of tender documents, Inc. VAT (non-returnable)
587670 CM-650	Rutenberg Power Station Condensate Polishing System Stage A - Submission of technical/commercial details, without prices General Requirements: 1. The supplier must have experience in the last ten years in the design and supply of at least three Cation - Mixed Bed (C-MB) condensate polishing plants operated at ammonia-hydrogen cycle in power plant with sea water cooled condenser. 2. Vessel diameter shall not be greater than 2.8 m.	NIS 1988

Last date for submitting bids: March 10, 1997, at 11 a.m.

CONDITIONS APPLYING TO THE SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS:
1. Participation in a tender is also subject to complying with the preliminary conditions detailed in the Tender Regulations 1993, Para. 6(a) 1, 2, 3 (i.e., registration as required by law, compliance with mandatory specifications, and the holding of the permits required by law for businesses).
2. If a bidder omits to provide a copy of any permit, permission, license, or any other document required in the pre-conditions, the Israel Electric Corporation may allow him to complete his documentation, and submit such document(s), within a stated time to be determined by the Corporation.
The tender documents may be obtained on Sunday - Thursday, at the Project Supervision Department, 11 Sderot Pal-Yam, Haifa, between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, on submission of a receipt, demonstrating payment (non-returnable) of the cost of the documents into the Corporation's account at the Postal Bank. Payment slips for making such payments are obtainable at the above address (Tel. 04-8615484). Before purchasing the tender documents, they may be perused at the offices of the Project Supervision Department at the above address. Bids must reach the secretariat of the Project Supervision Department, Room 710, 7th floor, Pal-Yam building, Haifa (address as above) by the last date for submitting bids, as stated above.
No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid.
NOTE: In appropriate cases, the Electric Corporation will give preference to suppliers, in accordance with the Tender Regulations (Preference for Locally Produced Goods, and Obligation to Extend Commercial Cooperation).
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Mus...
Foreign labor makes the stage
HELEN KAYE

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.

אוריאל בן ישראל

Music for the Creator

By HELEN KAYE

Musician Shmael Ben Israel was born Anthony Gregory Peck in Cleveland, Ohio, and as the handsome, bearded, 40-year-old repeats the legendary movie star's name, his eyes roll, but he's laughing. "I have no idea why my mother gave me that name," he protests, and anyway that name and his former life receded into the past when — just before he graduated

from Cleveland State University — he became a member of the Hebrew Israelite Community, better known here as the Black Hebrews. He was already a music major and played keyboards when he arrived in Dimona in 1979. On Thursday he and his five-year-old band, Prophetic Destiny, will perform at the Einav Center in Tel Aviv together with Elisheva Bahit Israel and her gospel choir, the Spirit of Israel. Ben Israel formed the eight-member band in 1992 "as an out-

growth of the community's musical development. We wanted to deal in a different idiom that combines Hebrew and African rhythms and tonality." The group's newest release, *Prayer for African Children*, has a marked new-age jazz flavor with a quirky African presence. They performed at the Arad Festival in 1993, but since then have been performing mainly at home in Dimona. Spirit's tape is called *Mother Africa, We Love You*, a rousing, intricate blend of new gospel, celebrating the communi-

ty's ties to Israel, and African songs. The group's singers have spectacular voices, none more so than its lead singer, director and arranger, Elisheva Bahit Israel who used to sing backup for Stevie Wonder. Music and soul merge into one in these singers. They sing the way they do, says producer Avshalom Ben Shlomo, "because Israel has a very specific role to play artistically and spiritually for man to be reconciled with the Creator, and our music is part of that."



Shmael Ben Israel combines Hebrew and African sounds.

NEWS of the muse

'Spring' in Prague

Every few months, Jerusalem conductor Eli Yaffe commutes to Prague, where he conducts to great acclaim. Next month he returns there to lead the city's National Symphony Orchestra in Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*. And on home turf, he will lead the Israel Philharmonic in a special evening of Jewish music in April.

Michael Aizenstadt

Camerata focuses on North America

The Israel Camerata Jerusalem leaves on a 15-concert tour of the US and Canada at the end of the month. Under the baton of music director Avner Birn the orchestra will present a varied repertoire ranging from Handel, Corelli, Boccherini and Mozart to Schubert and Puccini. Each program also features *Kaddish* for cello and strings by Camerata composer-in-residence Mark Kopytman. The concerts take place in New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Atlanta and other cities. The soloist will be pianist Claude Franck playing two piano concerti by Mozart, K.271 and K.453.

Michael Aizenstadt

Knights and dragons

JEST, the Jerusalem English Speaking Theater, has a new children's play called *The Near-Sighted Knight and the Far-Sighted Dragon*, a merry musical fable all about seeing the other chap's point of view once in a while. Last year, their first, and very successful, kiddie show was *The Prince Who Wouldn't Talk*. The director is Leah Stoller and all five performances will be at Gerard Behar from January 28.

Helen Kaye

'Brassed Off' in Utah

The Sundance Film Festival starts Thursday night with a screening of *Brassed Off*, a British film about a brass band in a struggling coal-mining town. That's the first of 127 features to be shown over 11 days. The festival, which recorded 50,000 admissions two years ago, will just about double that this year in the ski resort town of Park City, Utah. In the competition, 18 films were culled from some 600 submissions, a huge leap from the 250 entered just two years ago.

Los Angeles Times

'Seinfeld' gets expensive

According to a report in industry trade paper *The Hollywood Reporter*, *Seinfeld* co-stars Jason Alexander, Michael Richards and Julia Louis-Dreyfus have raised their asking price to \$1 million per episode — more than \$20 million each a year — to return for another season, the same figure reportedly agreed to in principle by star and co-creator Jerry Seinfeld. Industry sources acknowledge that stars have greater leverage in such negotiations as the search for prime-time hits becomes increasingly desperate. Speculation is NBC will have to pay at least \$5 million an episode, at 24 episodes a year — to Castle Rock Entertainment, to renew *Seinfeld*.

Los Angeles Times

From 'X-Files' to ex-files

Gillian Anderson, who stars as FBI agent Dana Scully in the hit series *The X-Files* (which this year received eight Emmy nominations) is to open up her own ex-files and divorce her husband, according to British press reports. Anderson, 28, who in serious magazines and on Internet sites the world over has become the planet's leading intellectual centerfold, is to divorce her husband, Clyde Klotz, 35, after three years of marriage. She said she feels the pair have got nothing in common, apart from their two-year-old daughter, Piper. Meanwhile fans will be shocked to hear that the paranormal show's creator, Chris Carter, has announced that the 1997-98 season will probably be the last, since he wants to concentrate on film-making. Carter said that the fifth season of *The X-Files* will end in a cliffhanger episode which will be resolved in a big-screen movie, set for release in the summer of 1998.

Tom Gross



'I didn't ask to be born,' Roxanne (Claire Rushbrook, right) tells her mother, Cynthia (Brenda Blethyn).

MOVIE REVIEW

By ADINA HOFFMAN

The winner of the Palme d'Or at the 1996 Cannes film festival, *Secrets & Lies* has been widely hailed by critics — British, especially — as the fullest and most satisfying Mike Leigh film to date and, more than that, "nothing short of miraculous," "a revelation" and "a great, great film."

Secrets & Lies is certainly a likable movie: it's packed with fine performances and reflects Leigh's usual exacting, and often sharply comic, eye for class and character nuance. What all these glowing endorsements fail to indicate, though, is the profoundly modest nature of the achievement at hand.

In essence, the picture is a smart soap opera with characters who

SECRETS & LIES

★★★1/2

Written and directed by Mike Leigh. Hebrew title: *Sodot* (secrets). 140 minutes. English dialogue. Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance strongly advised.

With Brenda Blethyn, Timothy Spall, Marianne Jean-Baptiste, Phyllis Logan and Claire Rushbrook.

may have blotchier skin and lumpy bodies than their Hollywood counterparts, but whose various emotional ordeals follow along the same basically contrived lines as a family saga on daytime TV. (Leigh's people do speak with more pungent frankness than the robotically smooth talkers of Southern California, which is in large part what gives his films their caustic charm.)

What, then, of the exaggerated praise being heaped on *Secrets & Lies*? The movie's rare reception seems to indicate a certain desperation on the part of critics who feel film — and Hollywood in particular — slipping further and further from the realm of "real life." While there is, no doubt, good cause to worry at the trend of many pictures toward an especially callous brand of make-believe, I wonder if Leigh's emphatically unremarkable, character-driven melodrama, it's the story of Cynthia, a miserable, middle-aged factory worker (played wrenchingly by Brenda Blethyn, who also picked up the best-actress

award at Cannes for her performance), whose bleak existence takes a turn for the brighter with the sudden reappearance of the grown daughter she gave up for adoption as an infant. And as if the strange woman's intrusion into Cynthia's life weren't jarring enough, it turns out that she's a black yuppie opportunist who goes by the name of Hortense (the poised Marianne Jean-Baptiste). After Cynthia's initial terror at the eye doctor's advances, the two women become friends, meaningfully navigating among the various broken souls around them: Cynthia's lovable lug of a brother, Maurice (Timothy Spall), works as a portrait photographer and lives with his uptight wife (Phyllis

Logan) in a sterile, suburban doll's house; her other daughter, (Claire Rushbrook) is a scrupulous street cleaner who cruelly curses her mother on a regular basis and shouts, in one typical, hostile exchange, that "I didn't ask to be born." The film is bursting, too, with cameo appearances of surprising depth and emotion. As always, the director's deft work with the actors is the best thing about the film. Leigh has a remarkable gift for coaxing subtle performances from players with the tiniest bit parts. (One particularly sad-funny sequence consists of a tableau-vivant series of Maurice's portrait subjects, striking their variously

amusing, embarrassing, outrageous poses for his — and for Leigh's — camera.) And when it comes to the leads, his usual method serves him well here, as he combines close story-telling control with a freer, almost-improvisational looseness of touch. The exchanges between Blethyn and Jean-Baptiste, in particular, are startling for their sudden, casual lurches between humor and pathos. Perhaps the most notable achievement of *Secrets & Lies* is the way Leigh manages, as never before, to spread sympathy evenly among all the film's characters. There are no despicable Johnnies here, as in *Naked*, just a lot of needy, believable people, desperately straining toward love.

'Foreign labor' takes the stage

By HELEN KAYE

In Hebrew it has a double meaning. "Avoda Zara" means foreign labor and idolatry. "We wanted that double meaning," says Gabi Amrani, the director of *Avoda Zara*, "because we wanted to give it the biblical connotation of idolatry against which the prophets preached. Today our gods are money, land, domination. They are the new idols."

Avoda Zara by Roy Rashkes is one of the seven original plays which constitute the Simta Theater's Winter Festival that opened on Saturday and runs through January 25.

Rashkes's play is a mad black comedy in which the foreign laborer (Moussa Abadi) and his buddies seize power in Zion. Tzipora (Geula Nunn) possessed of an impeccable Zionist pedigree of vast orchards, is not amused when her less-than-impeccable son Gideon (Poli Reshef) tries to foist a Romanian (Abadi) on her in the guise of a Russian immigrant. Her reaction threatens Gideon's expanding business — the importation and exploitation of laborers and "comfort women" — and creates the action of the play.

"The point is not that we have these foreign workers," Amrani explains, "but that we're slowly losing our humanity because of losing the disgusting way we treat these people. We're creating a creature that, like the Golem of Prague, may rise against its makers." A Yemineh Morgan Freeman, the stocky, good-tempered Amrani is a character actor, one of the best we have, but this is the first time he's ever directed. Professionally,



Poli Reshef and Geula Nunn in 'Avoda Zara'

that is. "When I was at HB [the New York Herbert Berghoff acting studio] in the Sixties I sang for my supper like all Israelis. I worked in the Jewish communities, I directed plays at summer camps and I've worked with groups here. Early on the stocky Amrani decided that his future lay in engineering. He quit school in the seventh grade and enrolled in technical school. From there, like so many others of that generation, he went to a kibbutz together with his class. As a card-carrying class clown, it was inevitable that the IDF's Nahal troupe would grab him when he was drafted.

Amrani forgot mechanics and immersed himself in theater. His New York sojourn to properly learn his craft was in 1962-66. Since then he's done dozens of plays and shows, as well as TV and film, yet barely remembers that he most recently completed a run of *The Rubber Merchants* at the Jerusalem Khan.

"I don't live the past," he says without bombast. "I'm always looking ahead."

So there's talk about a TV sitcom, and definitely more directing. "Directing is fun. I feel I have so much to say and I have great actors."

Nights on a rare mountain

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Tonight Georgian pianist Alexander Korsantya returns to the venue and the composition which he made his name.

Nearly two years ago he came as a virtual unknown to compete in the Arthur Rubinstein International Master Piano Competition in Tel Aviv. After the first round, all agreed that the winner had been found; one critic suggested that the rest of the event be canceled. Korsantya's rendition of Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition* was simply stunning.

"I realize most music lovers around the world are more familiar with the Ravel orchestration of this opus than with the original piano version," he says. "But in Israel people are quite educated and they have heard the piano version on many occasions."



Alexander Korsantya

The opus is Mussorgsky's reaction to a series of paintings by Victor Hartmann. "There is a clear dramatic difference between the painter and the composer. The paintings are somewhat primitive, and devoid of the gigantic landscapes Mussorgsky added to them."

Korsantya also plays a series of concerti with the Israel Camerata Jerusalem later this week, in which he performs one of Mozart's rarely performed piano concerti, opus 9, written when the composer was 21. "The second movement of this concerto has such a clear association with his own requiem, with tragic death, which is amazing." Its rarity "is proof that I should play it more often," he says.

Korsantya has toured with both the Camerata and the JSO. "I played Mozart's last piano concerto with the Camerata in Geneva a few months ago in a special Rubinstein festival and I played the Tchaikovsky concerto with the Jerusalem orchestra."

CLASSIC DISCS

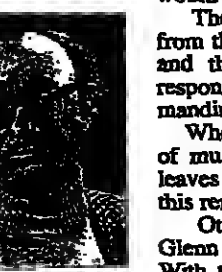
Brendel and Mehta's salad days

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

There are real bargains to be found in the world of classical discs. I recently came across a recording of Beethoven's ever-popular fifth ("Emperor") piano concerto performed by Alfred Brendel and conducted by Zubin Mehta, for NIS 20. Recorded on the Tuxedo Music label (disc number TUXCD 1038, also featuring the same composer's *Choral Fantasy* with Clemens Krauss conducting the Vienna Symphony Orchestra in 1953) it's a most impressive rendition.

This 1959 version of the "Emperor" with the Vienna Pro Musica Orchestra features two famous musicians who at the time were much younger. Neither Brendel nor Mehta would opt for a similar reading today. Nowadays their Beethoven would be much more philosophical, subdued and introverted. But in 1959 they read through the concerto with youthful eagerness and buoyancy.

Brendel rushes forward immediately in a most impressive manner. He has always been an accomplished pianist with a very personal imprint on the keyboard, and has



Alfred Brendel

always treated the music most sincerely and with the utmost respect. But with the 23-year-old Mehta beside him even Brendel tends to run faster than one would expect. The orchestra is somewhat remote from the class of the Vienna Symphony and the Vienna Philharmonic but it responds with agility to Mehta's commanding baton. Whether you like it or not is a matter of musical taste. The recording sound leaves a lot to be desired but for NIS 20 this remains a bargain. Other "Emperor" bargains include Glenn Gould's electrifying rendition. With the Toronto Symphony Orchestra under Karel Ancerl, Gould emerges as a giant among pianists, an individual poet and painter who presents a very personal reading of the work. This performance marks him as one of the all-time greats. (The Glenn Gould Edition, Sony SMK 52687, mid-price with the Richard Strauss *Burleske*).

Leon Fleisher with the Cleveland Orchestra under George Szell (Sony Essential Classics SBK 46549, budget price with Beethoven's Triple Concerto) offers a much more lyrical reading of the score.

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Rajoub's incitement

THE ink has barely dried on the Hebron agreement and already it faces its first test. In the first speech by a Palestinian official after the handover of over 80 percent of the city, Palestinian security chief Jibril Rajoub said, "We tell (the Israeli settlers) that their place is not with us. They are big stones on our chest, so we have to take them off!" Palestinian Transportation Minister Ali Kawasmi reportedly echoed these sentiments, saying that "part of Hebron is still under occupation. So we will struggle, both the government and the people, in order to liberate the rest of Hebron."

Unnamed Israeli security officials reacted sharply, calling Rajoub's statement a serious case of incitement and verbal violence, and a clear violation of the spirit of the Hebron agreement which Rajoub himself played a key part in negotiating. Section 7 of the agreement states that "Both sides reiterate their commitment to maintain normal life throughout the city of Hebron and to prevent any provocation or friction that may affect normal life in the city."

This commitment against incitement also appears in the American guarantee, the Note for the Record, which was drafted by US mediator Dennis Ross at the request of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat. The note lists parallel Israeli and Palestinian responsibilities to be implemented "on the basis of reciprocity."

Point 2 (b) on the list of Palestinian responsibilities is "Preventing incitement and hostile propaganda, as specified in Article XXII of the Interim Agreement." That article commits both Israel and the Palestinians to "foster mutual understanding and tolerance" and to "take legal measures to prevent incitement by any organizations, groups or individuals within their jurisdiction."

Rajoub's speech, especially since it came from the top Palestinian official in charge of security in Hebron, effectively encouraged the people of Hebron to rid themselves of the Jewish presence in the city. This is a clear case of incitement to violence, and therefore a clear violation of the Oslo Accord, of the just-signed Hebron agreement, and of the commitments made to the United States.

Yesterday, a day after Rajoub's speech, Arafat had the chance to correct this serious violation of the commitments negotiated in his name. In his triumphant speech from the Imara - formerly Israeli, now Palestinian headquarters in Hebron - Arafat told the crowd below that the Palestinians would fulfill their commitments. He also spoke to Hebron's Jewish community

directly, saying "we do not want to confront you."

It is significant that Arafat, in his first speech in Hebron to a crowd whose vast majority probably agreed with Rajoub, did not say anything against the Jewish presence in the city. It is also true that the prospects for peace in Hebron also depend on the behavior of the Jewish community, which in the past has not sought a modus vivendi with the Arab majority.

That said, the lack of incitement in Arafat's speech is not enough to correct the blatant incitement by his security chief and another top Palestinian official. In the past, such statements were not taken seriously and were tacitly justified as the natural outgrowth of Israeli foot-dragging.

Now, however, even Arafat himself is saying that the Hebron agreement represents not just peace with Labor and Meretz, but with the Likud and most of the ruling coalition of the Right. He proudly told the throng in Hebron that the agreement passed with 87 votes in the Knesset. And not only did these votes ratify the redeployment in Hebron, but the commitment to carry out Oslo's further redeployments by a certain date.

Violence, and the rhetoric that incites it, were not justifiable before. Now that the fig leaf of Israeli intransigence has disappeared there can be even less grounds for their justification. Moreover, there is also the new element "reciprocity," freshly sanctified with an American stamp of approval. The concept of reciprocity and the new American role face their first test: What will Israel, the United States, and the Palestinians do to correct the first violation of the new agreement?

What is necessary at this point is a statement from Jibril Rajoub saying that the Israeli presence in Hebron will be a matter for negotiation in final status talks, and that at least until then, he will fulfill the Palestinian commitment to prevent violence in the city, including incitement to violence.

Without such a statement, despite Arafat's comparatively moderate speech, the Palestinians will have trouble denying responsibility for any Palestinian-initiated violence in Hebron in the near future. Already, the Netanyahu government and the Americans are faced with the question of whether the concept of reciprocity really means anything in practice, or whether violations of commitments made just a few hours before will pass without comment or consequences.

Right, but wrong

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

It's hard not to respect or even admire Benny Begin.

Begin is one of those genuinely modest, unassuming people, a man who lives by his principles. From personal acquaintance I can also attest that he is a person of considerable compassion.

Of course, this doesn't mean Begin is always right. He usually

from the norm in Israel.

Our governmental system pays lip service to something called "collective responsibility," but in practice most ministers since the '70s have acted as if the concept does not apply to them. Our prime ministers have also usually tended to disregard it when expedient.

There have, of course, been exceptions. Both Mordechai Gur and Moshe Arens resigned from the national unity government over matters of principle - Gur in 1986, because he refused to serve under Yitzhak Shamir, whom he believed to be implicated in the "Bus 300 affair," and Arens in 1987 against the background of the government's decision to cancel the Lavi project.

Rafael Eitan resigned from Shamir's government in 1991 because he supported the law for direct election of the premier and Shamir opposed it; and Yuval Ne'eman and Rehavim Ze'evi resigned soon after because of their opposition to the peace talks that followed the Madrid Conference. All are men of principle.

Are least another six ministers apart from Begin opposed the Hebron agreement? Yet only Begin resigned. The others voted against their consciences, or simply stayed away.

WHERE Begin goes wrong is in his stated reasons for opposing the agreement - and the whole Oslo process, for that matter.

Were his opposition based on purely ideological grounds - the belief that the Land of Israel belongs to the people of Israel and is inalienable - one could at least sympathize with him.

But Begin's opposition is based on what he claims are pragmatic grounds; the argument that the Arabs don't really want peace, and that everything they do within the framework of the peace process is just a tactical progression to their strategic goal, Israel's annihilation. A growing number of Likudniks

Benny Begin is a man you have to admire. That doesn't mean he's always correct

is when the issue revolves around personal integrity. But when political wisdom is what's required, he is frequently wrong.

On the attorney-general issue he was right. There was nothing intrinsically wrong with the government appointing a man whose weltanschauung corresponded to its own, and since the Knesset hasn't so far passed a law setting down the qualifications for the attorney-general's job, there was, on the face of it, nothing wrong with Roni Bar-On's appointment.

However, back in 1961 the government did lay down several basic rules regarding the appointment of an attorney-general, and over the years some customs became entrenched. Bar-On simply didn't measure up.

Thus Begin's judgment, and not Justice Minister Hanegbi's, proved right, and his lone decision to vote against the appointment was laudable.

Begin was also absolutely right to resign from the government when it voted in favor of a policy he opposed on principle. And though his action might have seemed perfectly natural to an outside observer, it is actually far

Dry Bones



have begun meeting Palestinian politicians and leaders, and have come to realize that destroying Israel as a Jewish state in the Middle East is no longer on the Palestinian agenda (though it might still be part of the Palestinian dream, just as Greater Israel is part of many Israelis' dream). But Begin refuses to admit that he might be wrong.

Obsessively he goes on piling up information which seems to prove him right, and continues insisting that the king is naked, even though the majority of the crowd can see that the king is (at least partially) clothed.

Many believe that now he has left the government, Begin will rapidly become the informal leader of the dogmatic Right, which will soon be facing a severe ideological

crisis. Begin might just be the right man to help this camp find its bearings amid a new reality. With an eye to the next elections for prime minister in 2000, he might even be elected to lead this camp against the Likud's Binyamin Netanyahu and Labor's Ehud Barak.

Politically speaking, of course, it will be a futile exercise, since most Israelis want the peace ship to sail on, and the next elections will determine who should take the helm, Netanyahu or Barak.

Now if elections were all about choosing the most modest, the most honorable, the most trustworthy of the candidates, it would be a whole other matter. But it won't happen in this world.

The writer is a political scientist.

The need to fight for one's rights

AMIEL UNGAR

The prime minister attempted to put a brave face on the surrender of Hebron by touting the "advantages" of his "new, improved" withdrawal over the formula brokered by his predecessors.

The new accord, Netanyahu argues, is enhanced by Warren Christopher's letter of understanding, according to which Israel will be the sole arbiter of its security needs when it cedes further territory over the next three installments.

Even if we accept Netanyahu's optimistic reading of the agreement, he will be judged not by its wording, but by his ability to defend Israel's rights under it.

Netanyahu's situation is analogous to the predicament all too many Israelis experience with their building contractor. Having signed, they place their confidence in a contract which clearly lists the obligations of each party and stipulates the safeguards and penalties in the event of violation.

When the contractor procrastinates way beyond the original completion date, the purchaser is faced with a dilemma. He can secure his contractual rights only if he is willing to engage in protracted and expensive legal battles that can further delay the completion of his home. The frequent result is a revised contract which allows the contractor to get away with his violations.

We have now signed a somewhat amended contract with Yasser Arafat, compared to whom even

the sleaziest Israeli contractor is a paradigm of probity. The most favorably worded clauses will prove meaningless unless Israel is willing to fight for their enforcement.

Unfortunately both the previous government and Netanyahu's have

refused to set the region ablaze for the sake of a wretched novel. Similarly, we will not set the region ablaze for the extradition of a few wretched felons, or to secure the return of thousands of wretched stolen vehicles. Israel can always be

not be a Middle East peace without Syria, Assad, as well as Peres and Rabin, have specified that the price of peace is the withdrawal of the Golan. So much for letters of understanding.

DOES anybody expect Arafat to act differently from Assad? Ignoring the Christopher letter, he and his allies will threaten to set the region ablaze unless Arab demands are met. The Americans will dispatch Dennis Ross or some other diplomat to save the peace.

Professor Amnon Rubinstein may have backed Netanyahu's legal contention that Oslo does not obligate Israel to cede 90 percent of Judea and Samaria prior to the final accord.

When the crunch with Arafat comes, Rubinstein and the Left will undoubtedly argue that peace is more important than being in the legal right. Pressure will build on all fronts. That will be the makeup exam for Netanyahu and his government.

Pessimists say a government that has once succumbed to pressure will yield again and again. But history does not always bear out such fatalism. There have been cases where governments that capitulated once then displayed resolve, fearing to forfeit all further credibility.

For the sake of a "secure peace," one hopes that Netanyahu belongs in the latter category.

The writer teaches political science at Bar-Ilan University's extension in Ariel.

'Responsible' Israeli behavior will turn even the prized US letter of understanding into a deja vu

displayed scant tenacity in defending Israel's rights, and the current agreement strikingly illustrates this ineptitude.

The merchandise Arafat offered in return for the Hebron pact consists of secondhand goods already peddled in previous accord, but never delivered.

Henceforward, Foreign Minister Levy assures us, Israel will insist on every iota. Similar insistence was previously absent because our leaders felt it could jeopardize the "process."

Oslo accorded Israel the right of hot pursuit. When the murderers of Ephraim and Etta Tzur reached sanctuary in Ramallah, on hot pursuit occurred because, a senior military source explained, this would mean "the end of the peace process."

Such responsible behavior will turn even the prized US letter of understanding into a deja vu.

Israel received a similar letter regarding the Golan when it surrendered the territory in won following Syria's attack in the Yom Kippur war plus Kuneitra, which it had taken in the Six Day war.

Hafez Assad, who sees no reason to be guided by the US understanding, threatens war unless we yield him the Golan. Rabin and Peres were sufficiently impressed by these threats to forgo the benefits of the US letter and be ready to concede the Golan.

Now the Americans are pressing Netanyahu to revive talks with Syria. Sandy Berger, incoming head of the National Security Council, has warned that there can-

An abortive search for soulmates

ESTHER WACHSMAN

Last Tuesday night, I attended a meeting in answer to an ad in the paper. It stated that religious women were meeting to discuss the sanctity of life.

I have long felt that the idea of women uniting and speaking out as a force for morality, caring, compassion and values is of the utmost importance in these very trying times.

So, with my friend Naomi Ragen, I eagerly set out to the gathering, uplifted and optimistic. We would be the movers and shakers of society.

Upon entering the Windmill Hotel, we watched hundreds of women pour in, and I sensed the electricity in the air.

These, I felt, were my soulmates - together we would make an impact on our surroundings and sanctify God's name.

The first speaker began. She spoke for 20 minutes about the support she had gotten for her open letter to the prime minister. She spoke of a "different" religious voice and attitude, as shown by the response of all those women to her letter.

By this time I was squirming in my seat. "What letter?" Naomi asked me. "What response?" I had not come to support any

in order to protect their graves; in other words, that human life is much more precious than any stone or monument.

Yes, said one side of me, the mother of soldiers. But wait a moment, cried the other side, if those "stones and monuments," which are our roots, our heritage,

I thought I could join these women in making an impact, but I was sadly wrong

da we knew nothing about.

When the floor was opened to discussion, I heard more and more women expressing their identification with "the letter" and with a "different" religious woman.

FINALLY I could contain myself no longer.

"What letter are you talking about?" I asked the moderator. "Please read the letter."

The letter was duly read out, and the gist of it was that the Matriarchs, upon whom we model ourselves, would not have wanted their sons to endanger their lives

which I knew nothing. The open discussion that evening seemed a bit simplistic, dealing mainly with the sanctity of human life versus that of the Land of Israel.

No mention was made of the sanctity of the lives of our precious sons and daughters, fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, sisters and brothers, brutally cut short by the perpetrators of terror.

I know that idealism must now be mixed with pragmatism, and I was quoted by one of the evening's speakers as someone who recognized the need for realism to replace our dreams.

Yet the issue is much more multifaceted than that of "oppressor" and "oppressed."

Unfortunately, in their need to act as apologists for the religious Zionist population, these women focused only on one side of a very complicated issue, rather than fully explaining the value of human life in all its manifestations.

Sadly, I cannot say that I found my soulmates that evening - but I'm still looking.

The writer's son Nachshon was killed by Hamas terrorists in October 1994.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

UNDERMINING THE GOVERNMENT

Sir, - Unfortunately, some Diaspora Jewish groups, incredulous and palpably disappointed over the outcome of the recent Israeli elections, seem to be expending a great deal of energy attempting to undermine Prime Minister Netanyahu and the duly elected government of Israel in order to further their own parochial causes.

Gone is the caveat that was heard during the Rabin/Peres years that we of the Diaspora must support the government of Israel regardless of how small the ruling party's majority is in the Knesset or how much the elected party had departed from the platform on which it was elected. This caveat was presented despite the fact that the Rabin/Peres majority in the Knesset was only one vote and that five of the votes cast for labor were from Arab members dedicated to the destruction of the Jewish State and the formation of a Palestinian one.

Totally ignored now is the fact

that Netanyahu received over 55 percent of the Israeli Jewish vote and now has a coalition of 66 seats. Also ignored is the fact that Peres's policies of "land for peace" were emphatically discarded in the electoral process. Diaspora critics with their own agendas in mind paint a glowing picture to worldwide diplomatic success and economic prosperity under Peres that have no foundation in fact. Whatever apparent success there was quickly disappeared under a government that decided to halt the wholesale giveaway of the defensible borders of the State of Israel.

Particularly hard to swallow, even by one raised as a Conservative Jew, is the lament that Orthodox Jews now control 22 seats in the Knesset. This emotion reads very much as though those of different Diaspora religious persuasions rather than the Arab votes under Peres prevailed so that Diaspora pluralism would have a hence chance of proselytizing among Israeli Jews.

DISINGENUOUS

Sir, - Mark Heller (January 10) asserts that Prime Minister Netanyahu should stop complaining about the "terrible burden bequeathed to him by Rabin and Peres..." and recognize that they left him enough room to negotiate creatively and constructively. Dr. Heller implies that Rabin/Peres purposely left open the definition of one of the most important phrases in the final redeployment ("key military locations") because the Israeli negotiators would eventually define them in a way that preserved Israel's security and not create a situation in which the very existence of the state would be endangered. Thus, according to this interpretation, the Oslo process, particularly the further redeployment, is not as draconian as painted by its opponents, and Netanyahu has only himself to blame if he fails to be creative and constructive.

Dr. Heller is being disingenuous in this interpretation. It is becoming more apparent every day that Rabin and Peres were less than candid with the public in revealing all the understandings that they had with Arafat

concerning the ultimate goals of the process. As Norman Podhoretz points out in the latest issue of Commentary magazine, they considered it the better part of political prudence not to tell the whole truth for fear that the public would refuse to support a course which they and the leaders of the Labor Party had in the past repeatedly insisted would place Israel in mortal danger. Consistent with this, they purposely left the details of the final redeployment vague because to define it in a way acceptable to the PLO, which was their intent, would not wash with the Israeli public. Arafat went along with this since his experience had taught him that, in the final analysis, he would get what he wanted in negotiations with Rabin and Peres.

The election of Netanyahu upset the usual scenario and set the scene for the present controversy. So it was deviousness and not cleverness by the authors of the Oslo agreement that dictated the imprecise wording on redeployment.

JAY SHAPIRO

Ginot Shomron, Azle, Texas.

DOWN SYNDROME

Sir, - I read with interest Ruthie Blum's response of January 9 to the person with an older sister who had Down syndrome. Or family had almost the same situation. We met our sister for the first time at our father's funeral in 1973. All of us were in our twenties.

After the funeral we started visiting her, although our mother didn't approve. We found that she was living in deplorable conditions, so we had her transferred in a small group home near us. For the next 24 years, my brother, sisters and I visited her monthly. After a few years our mother started going with us. Our sister thrived in her new home, both physically and emotionally.

She died recently at 61 creating a great loss for all of us. She taught us much about life. She showed us how to enjoy the simple things. Denise would just light up with joy seeing us or having an ice-cream cone. She was full of life and love that she gave to us for many years. We will miss her. All of us are grateful to God for his precious gift... Denise.

GARY SCHROEDER

Azle, Texas.

الجمهورية

The New York Times

Weekly Review

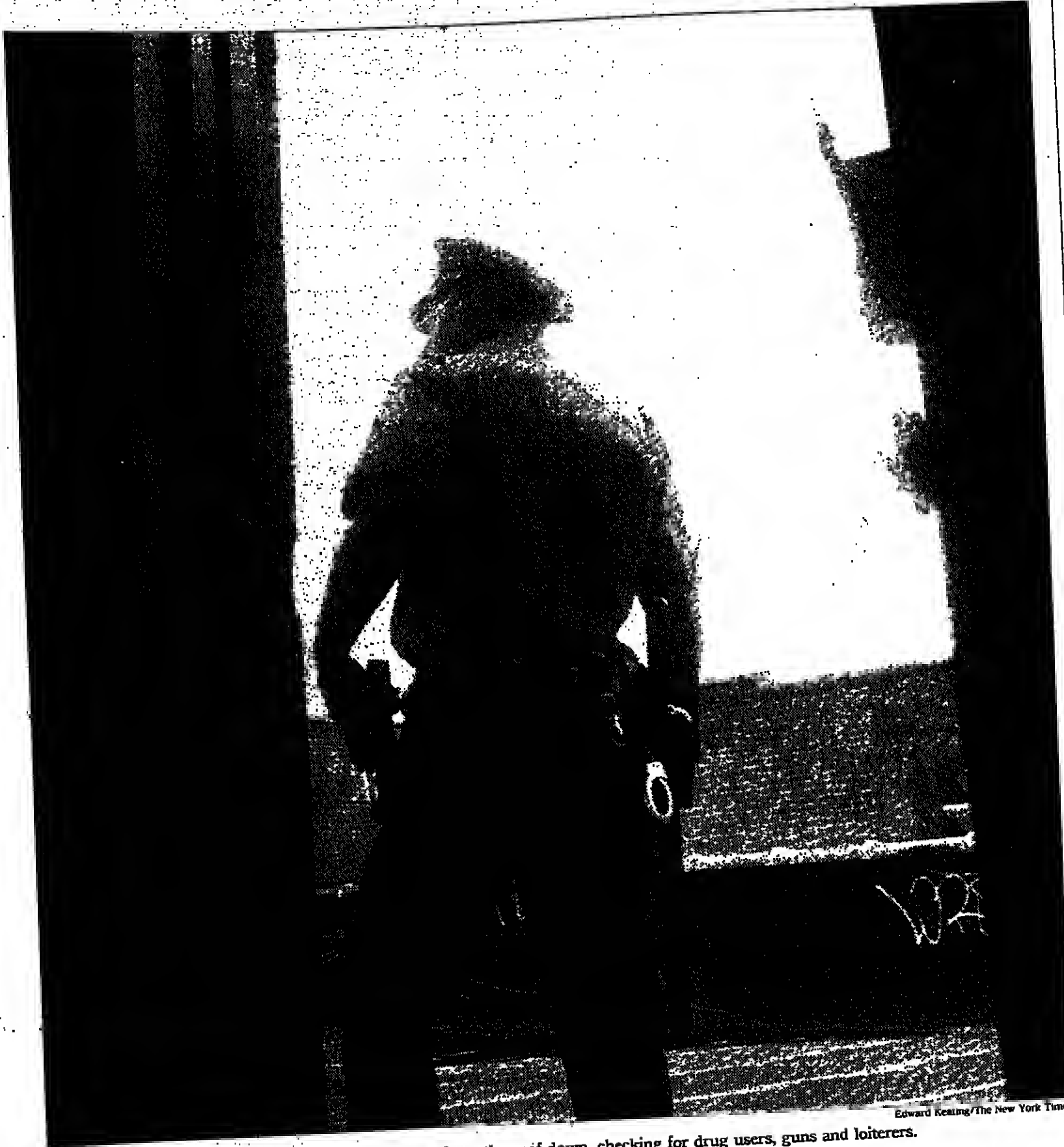
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Whodunit



A New York City police officer patrolling a building from the roof down, checking for drug users, guns and loiterers.

Speaking Softly In the Bully Pulpit

By ALISON MITCHELL

AS he approaches his second swearing-in, Bill Clinton, that avid student of history, has been rummaging through the second-term inaugural addresses of Presidents past and thinking about junctures in American history when a leader helped transform the nation.

Great Presidents like Franklin D. Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln and great moments of change in society most often come out of the crucible of war or economic turmoil, Mr. Clinton has told his aides. But sometimes a peacetime President can seize the moment. And for at least a year now, Mr. Clinton has been turning for inspiration to Theodore Roosevelt, the roughriding Republican trustbuster from Oyster Bay, L.I.

He has praised Roosevelt in speeches as a man who moved the country into the future. He quoted Roosevelt when he designated a



Now Clinton's model Roosevelt is Theodore, not Franklin.

swath of Utah's red rock country as a national monument. Riding his campaign train last summer, Mr. Clinton even called Roosevelt "one of my favorite Presidents ever."

Roosevelt has many points of appeal for Mr. Clinton. He became President after the turn of the century, when an agrarian nation was being shaken by industrialization — a time Mr. Clinton has often called analogous to this moment at the edge of a millennium, when America is making the transition from industrialism to the global information age.

Roosevelt also was an activist who had an expansive view of executive power, a leader who made powerful use of what he called the President's "bully pulpit." Faced with a Republican Congress, Mr. Clinton, too, has become ever more interested in the oratorical potential in his office.

Michael D. McCurry, the White House press secretary, said recently that in the next term, the President will be looking beyond just working with Congress. "A lot of his work goes to the use of the bully pulpit, to his work with the American people to talk about the things that we can do together to address some of the problems we face," Mr. McCurry said.

Yet Mr. Clinton has shied away from his role model's unbridled assaults on the status quo. By his nature, Mr. Clinton tries to smooth over conflict, not provoke it. His preaching, says Wayne Fields, the director of Washington University's Center for the Study of American Culture, is of the "I'm O.K., you're O.K." school. It is not designed to pain the powerful.

Roosevelt, in contrast, gave little oratorical quarter to the corporate interests of his day, though at times his actions were more measured than his words. His speeches were designed to force Congress to support his program of business regulation, or to assure the public that the President was as powerful as the great corporate trusts. He accused "predatory wealth" of blocking his program to help the working man. He lambasted the judiciary, saying it



Illustration by Carl A. Sherrill from Associated Press (top) and New York Times photographs

had failed "to stop the abuses of the criminal rich."

Roosevelt explained the need for securities regulation, for income and inheritance taxes, for guarantees that workers have "a larger share of the wealth." By his second term, he found it harder to sway Congress, but he changed the national debate and prepared the way for social legislation by his successors.

Some members of Mr. Clinton's party almost seem to be trying to goad the President into being more like Roosevelt. On his way out of office, Robert E. Reich, Mr. Clinton's first-term Labor Secretary, spoke

Continued on page 3

Crime Fighting's About-face

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

IN the face of America's vast crime problem, liberals and conservatives have long clashed over the causes of lawlessness and what to do about it.

For liberals, crime must be traced to its roots in poverty, joblessness and racism, deep-seated social and economic ills. Nonsense, conservatives counter, the origins are cultural, stemming from the decline of the family along with the rise of welfare dependency, single motherhood and a permissive social ethos. One thing both sides agree on: there is little the police can do to reduce crime.

Taken together, these views add up to the conventional wisdom about crime that has prevailed for 20 years or more. Without profound changes in society, there isn't much anyone can do about crime in this country.

Suddenly, new facts have turned this accepted wisdom on its head. For five years, reported crime, especially murder, has been dropping sharply even though the economic plight of the inner cities and the disarray in poor families remain the same. This decline is the longest in 25 years, and when the final figures for 1996 are in, it is likely that the national homicide rate will fall to its lowest level since the 1960's, when an explosion of violence triggered America's

modern crime problem.

No one really knows why crime is dropping. "This is a humbling time for all crime analysts," said John J. DiIulio Jr., a professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University. "It is a puzzlement."

Still, a remarkably optimistic new view of crime prevention is emerging among experts, and their revised consensus suggests that law enforcement may make a critical difference

The old wisdom: Police can't do much. The new wisdom: Yes they can.

after all, through innovative and concerted police strategies on guns, teen-agers and petty crimes. Call this the management approach.

At the same time, another new theory gaining adherents is that fighting crime is like combating an epidemic whose pattern of infection doesn't follow a tidy mathematical progression.

"Acts of violence lead to further acts of violence, creating a contagion effect and a sudden jump in crime rates that is hard to

explain," said John Laub, a professor of criminology at Northeastern University. This may be what happened when the advent of crack cocaine in the mid-1980's produced a sudden, huge increase in violence.

Epidemiologists term this dramatic escalation the "tipping point." Fortunately, the same effect applies once enough measures are taken to contain the epidemic, even though the measures, by themselves, seem far less ambitious than previous efforts to attack crime at its roots.

William J. Bratton, the former New York City Police Commissioner who is credited with introducing some of the successful new law enforcement strategies, said, "I think we are now at another one of those tipping points, only on the way down."

Preliminary F.B.I. data for 1996, released this month, seem to support Mr. Bratton and underscore how mistaken the old wisdom about crime now appears. The biggest decreases in serious and violent crime last year came in the nation's largest cities, precisely those areas where traditional criminology predicted crimes would be the worst.

In the past five years, murders in New York have fallen by 50 percent, to 984 in 1996 from 1,995 in 1992. The rate also dropped in other big

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Figuring out how to make the unavoidable palatable.

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Brawl of Democracy

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How technology threatens privacy, and protects it.

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Inaugural Verse

A nation held captive by an Arkansas poet.

By Francis X. Clines

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The World

The Goal Is Clear, But Not the Road

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

JERUSALEM
F a Palestinian state ever comes into being in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, many in the world will wonder what the fuss was all about for so long.

Its borders could probably be sketched today by drawing a line around the major Palestinian population areas and ceding some consolidated settlement blocks and part of the Jordan Valley to Israel. Israel is likely to keep control of airspace and have a strong say in how the water sources are shared, and the Palestinian Army is not likely to have any weapons that could be used to seriously threaten Israel. Both capitals would be called Jerusalem (in English, anyway), with an Israeli Yerushalaim in much of what is now Jerusalem, a Palestinian Al Quds in what is now an array of Arab neighborhoods and villages, and perhaps some joint religious arrangement in the Old City.

So why not just do it? To find out, just read the preceding paragraph to a gathering of Jews or Palestinians. What, an armed Palestinian state within 10 miles of Tel Aviv? Perpetuating Israeli occupation in the West Bank? A redivided Jerusalem? Limiting Palestinian sovereignty? Ceding more of the Land of Israel to a sworn foe of the Jews?

Two Nations, One Birthright

That yawning gap between a pragmatic solution, of which many variants are available, and the tribal passions, internal politics, profound distrust and mutual dislike of the two peoples who are trying to reach it also goes a long way toward explaining why the deal on Hebron that was signed last week took so painfully long. Most of the arrangements for a partial Israeli withdrawal from the city were in themselves relatively straightforward and self-evident, as witnessed by the fact that they fit easily into nine double-spaced pages.

The task was to arrange ways by which Israel could provide security for 450 Jews inside a city of about 150,000 Palestinians. The challenge was to get two men who disliked, distrusted and misunderstood each other to agree on cooperating in a city each claimed as a sacred birthright of his nation.

For more than three months, the battle over every comma and vowel made daily headlines and virtually dominated the lives of the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu; the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, and Dennis Ross, the American mediator who rushed among the principals, negotiators and his base in Washington like a circus performer who was trying to keep a dozen wobbly plates spinning on their sticks. And even after the last bitter battle was done, critics on both sides assailed the leaders for

even the smallest compromise.

Given that level of passion over Hebron, it is painful to imagine the savage battles, frustrations and inevitable eruptions of violence that will come when the Israelis, Palestinians and Americans open up hypersensitive issues like Jewish settlements, Palestinian refugees, final borders and Jerusalem.

The Map

Yet, as with Hebron, the real challenge will be to find ways of making the unavoidable palatable.

It was noteworthy in this respect that the American "Note for the Record" appended to the Hebron agreement, outlining what each side should do next, came to be known among the negotiators as a "road map," suggesting that the destination was known, and the business at hand was to find the route. And if it worked in Hebron, there is



In Hebron, past a gate that shields a Jewish settlement, Palestinian children played as Israeli soldiers patrolled last Wednesday.



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu argues for the Hebron plan with political allies.



Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, with King Hussein of Jordan last weekend.

Sharing a sliver of land while still arguing over who got there first.

reason to hope that it could also work in the future. Hebron, after all, has been a microcosm of the whole dispute. It has it all: disputed religious sites, zealous settlers, claims that go back centuries (even millennia), a history of terrible bloodshed, and irreconcilable hatreds between Arabs and Jews.

Of course, heartening as the achievement of a deal on Hebron is, it is not a guarantee for the future.

The very fact that it was 10 months overdue, that virtually every deadline in the Oslo

agreement has been missed, that the very foundation of the Oslo process — land for peace — was so strongly opposed by so many on each side, indicate that the target date of May 1999 for a final settlement was probably a dream.

And the longer the delay, the greater the variables.

Times Change

What if Mr. Arafat dies? Is there another Palestinian with the clout and savvy to pursue the peace? What if the next Israeli Prime Minister is someone like Benny Begin, the inflexible ideologue who quit Mr. Netanyahu's Cabinet because ceding anything to the Palestinians was anathema to him? And the most frightening question: What if the next outbreak of violence leads to the collapse of the entire Oslo framework?

But then, it was not so long ago that few would have imagined a Likud prime minister

At each step to peace, expect a fight over commas and vowels.

regularly meeting with Mr. Arafat, or a hereditary hard-liner like Mr. Netanyahu defending the Oslo framework against members of the Likud? And when a deranged Israeli soldier opened fire on the Arab market in Hebron on New Year's Day, the alacrity with which Mr. Netanyahu and Mr. Arafat rushed in to contain the damage was impressive.

Having come this far, the Israelis and Palestinians are already charting approaches to a goal few people in their predicament have achieved — finding a peaceful way for

two peoples with a long history of hatred and strife to share the same small corner of the Earth. Israelis and Arabs have tried many different solutions — street violence, all-out war, trying to push the enemy off the land or containing hostile populations — but each approach has only served to heighten the national ambitions of the Israelis and Palestinians in turn, and the insecurity that each group feels in the other's shadow.

In the end, the concession they made in Oslo was that the only solution is a fair divorce in which the Palestinians can realize their national ambitions in a way that will allow Israelis to insure their richly deserved security.

But wait a minute, that shrine is mine, my people were here first. . . . What? My people have been here nine centuries. . . . Says who? . . . Just read Deuteronomy! . . . But I have this deed! . . .

Yoo hoo, Demms!

Democracy in Action

Russia's Gross National Legislature

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

WHEN Communist legislators in the lower house of the Russian Parliament threatened last week to try to impeach President Boris N. Yeltsin — bedridden with double pneumonia — on charges of absenteeism, even some of their own party members blushed.

After all, the legislators themselves, Communist and otherwise, often don't bother to show up for important business. There have been key votes when the speaker of the Duma and all six of his deputies were absent, leaving Anatoly Lukyanov, the hard-line Communist who supported the 1991 coup against Mikhail Gorbachev, in charge.

Voting by proxy is common practice as legislators, in violation of the rules, hand over their electronic voting cards to colleagues. That doesn't always work, though; at an emergency session of the Duma in November, for example, 40 Communists were unable to vote because their voting cards were locked in the whip's safe — and he had left on a junket to Japan with the key in his pocket.

Add to this all-night office parties, widespread corruption, blatant abuse of office perks, fistfights on the Duma floor and a serene confidence in the superiority of the male sex, and you have Russian Men Behaving Badly — with parliamentary immunity.

Free to Be

As a legislative body, the 450-member Duma, along with the upper house of Parliament, is virtually declared, with little power to shape or alter the President's agenda. But as an institution, the Russian Duma is a happy little world free of political correctness, rules of sexual conduct, or ethics investigations.

The Duma operates as the id of the fledgling Russian democracy.

Sergei Semyonov, an ultranationalist member of the Duma from Saransk who is deputy chairman of the committee on women, families and youth, lives with three women, and recently proposed a bill to legalize polygamy — because, he says, there aren't enough sober and gainfully employed Russian men to go around.

"The majority of Russian men are too poor to support one family, let alone several," Mr. Semyonov, who is 22 years old, boasted to reporters. "I have the money and energy to keep all my women fully satisfied, materially and physically."

By the ever-sliding standards of the Russian Duma, Mr. Semyonov is a chevalier. The leader of his party, Vladimir V. Zhirinovskiy, got into a fistfight on the chamber floor in 1995 and punched Yevgeniya Tishkovskaya (one of 45 women in the Duma) in the face. Later, he



It was Yevgeniya Tishkovskaya vs. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in one of the Duma's anything-goes debates.

explained with a leer that he was fending off her sexual advances.

Mr. Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party is more outré than most, but it is by no means the only political faction spared inhibitions. Last fall, the newspaper Moskovsky Komsomolets published excerpts of a cleaning lady's formal complaint about bipartisan petty thievery — Duma workers had lifted soap, towels, cups, telephones, mirrors, light bulbs and toilet paper. All-night office parties are far from unusual. One night of Duma debauchery got so out of hand that human excrement was found smeared on one of the walls of the Duma building.

No one has been fined, or hauled in front of the subcommittee on ethics, which exists but has almost never sanctioned a member of Parliament.

And that could be one reason their counterparts in Europe and the United States might, at times, feel a little envious.

In the Duma, former Representative Robert K. Dornan, who was loused out in November in favor of a woman by the voters in his California district, would not have raised a single eyebrow with his denunciation of "lesbian spear-chuckers."

Former Senator Bob Packwood would not be shunned in Russia; he would be asked for dating tips by awestruck Russian colleagues.

No Sweat

House Speaker Newt Gingrich, among many others, would never have to sweat out an ethics hearing in the Russian Duma — the notion that a legislator should not use tax-exempt funds for his own political purposes is nonsensical here.

"There are no financial scandals in the Duma, because nobody even tries to hide their conflicts of interest," explained Dmitri Pinsker, who covers the

Parties and brawls, corruption for all and never a whisper of political correctness. A Congressman could feel . . . envious.

Duma for the respected news magazine Itogi. Nor is there much investigative reporting about the members' more blatant financial irregularities.

"There is almost no way to trace illicit money," Mr. Pinsker said. "There is no oversight and no paper trail. You can't prove anything."

Parliamentary immunity, moreover, attracts candidates who are facing criminal charges, and who want to escape prosecution by becoming lawmakers.

Mr. Pinsker added that despite a rule prohibiting legislators from engaging in commercial business, many do. "It's not hidden," he said. "There are deputies with expensive cars and houses, they just put the business in their wives' name."

He also said sexual harassment wasn't an issue: "It's the norm, our version of the work ethic."

Some American congresswomen detect nostalgia for this sort of standard on Capitol Hill.

"Some of my male colleagues have been in Congress for a very long time, and they do seem to miss the good old days of less accountability and before the gift ban was in place," said Representative Nita Lowey, a Democrat from Westchester.

Ms. Lowey, who has visited Russia several times, says she was appalled by the blatant graft and corruption in both the executive and the legislative branches of the Russian Government, and particularly by the rampant, unapologetic sexism in the Duma. The old Soviet Duma, she said, had better manners: "It seems that the Communist Parliament was more respectful to women than the current body."

Alla Gerber, a legislator from a liberal reform party, who lost her bid for re-election in December, is Jewish as well as female, and has endured stuns from colleagues on the floor on both fronts.

"The main problem is the low cultural level of 80 percent of Duma members," she said. "Most come from the old nomenklatura of the provinces and have an idea what civilized behavior is."

Foreigners view the Duma with a mixture of horror and fascination. So do the reporters who cover it. "The only other parliament I've visited was in Israel," Mr. Pinsker said. "The Knesset was boring."

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

The Nation

'He Said, She Said' And They Clammed Up

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON
THE times they are a-changing. With that 1960's battle cry, Representative Patricia Schroeder and six of her female House colleagues famously stormed the Senate five years ago on behalf of Anita Hill. In her zeal, Ms. Schroeder, a Colorado Democrat and dean of women in the House, declared that a Senate hearing on Ms. Hill's allegations of sexual harassment against Clarence Thomas would prove "a watershed for women who have traditionally been without power in the workplace."

Now that Paula Jones, another woman without power, has come forward with her own charge of sexual degradation at the hands of a powerful man, Ms. Schroeder and her allies seem to have lost their voice. When the Supreme Court (Justice Thomas among those presiding) heard arguments last week on when Ms. Jones's case might proceed, absent were the sisters who had rallied for Ms. Hill.

"There's not enough hours in the day," Ms. Schroeder, who retired from the House last year and plans to teach at Princeton, said last week in a reluctant telephone interview from her Virginia home. "People are busy. They have only so many hours to breathe. People just don't rally every day. They eat. They work."

From the moment Ms. Jones accused President Clinton of propositioning her in a Little Rock hotel room in 1991, conservatives have challenged those who once wore buttons proclaiming "I believe Anita Hill" to support Ms. Jones with the same enthusiasm.

The challenge, especially in light of published assertions that Ms. Jones makes a more credible case than Ms. Hill, has prompted some women who attacked Justice Thomas but defended President Clinton (in part because he supports abortion rights) to examine the conflict between politics and principle.

Some, like Susan Estrich, manager of Michael Dukakis's 1988 Presidential campaign and now a law professor at the University of Southern California, concede that their principles are colored by politics. Others, like Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization for Women, argue that they have been more consistent than they get credit for.

But nearly all acknowledge that the contrast has troubling implications. To Ms. Estrich, the Paula Jones case is evidence of a pernicious trend, one begun with Anita Hill — using sex charges for political purposes. "Sex," Ms. Estrich wrote in the Internet magazine *Slate*, "has become just one more weapon in the anti-Clinton business, which is what Clarence Thomas, no doubt, thinks about how it was used against him." In other words, using sex to attack a political figure not only trivializes real cases of sexual exploitation; it relegates any serious policy debate to the background.

Christina Hoff Sommers, author of "Who Stole Feminism: How Women Have Betrayed Women," said the pro-Hill feminists hurt themselves by suggesting that women would not lie about something as serious as sexual abuse. "The movement was based on the sanctity

of the woman's word," she said. "That's come to haunt them when it's used against someone they like."

Like Bob Packwood, many liberals were reluctant to attack Mr. Packwood, the Senate's original champion of abortion rights, when he was accused of making unwanted sexual advances toward women. Ms. Ireland said that after NOW became convinced the charges were true, "we had trouble getting people to come and listen in an off-the-record meeting because they didn't want to go after Packwood — everyone was very scared of losing abortion rights."

Nor did conservative women rush to the defense of the Oregon Republican. "We were happy not to defecate him because we wanted him to go down for reasons having to do with welfare and tax reform," said Lisa Schiffren, a former speechwriter for Vice President Dan Quayle. "He was a liberal."

Ms. Schroeder denies any inconsistency in her attitudes toward Ms. Hill and Ms. Jones. For one thing, she says, the Senate initially was not going to hear Ms. Hill's testimony, while Ms. Jones is having her day in court.

Gone Shopping

Ms. Ireland has a more detailed explanation for her absence from the Jones fray. She said she agreed to talk to Ms. Jones in 1994, but when the time came, she said, Ms. Jones was out shopping for a dress. "I found that to be a particularly distasteful action, for people who allegedly wanted our assistance," Ms. Ireland recalled. "She blew us off." (But given the fact that many people early on dismissed Ms. Jones as a woman with "big hair," Ms. Ireland said, "maybe she was right to be concerned about what she was going to look like in court.")

Ms. Ireland also rejects the suggestion that NOW is protective of Mr. Clinton because he is a Democrat. She was arrested outside the White House protesting his policy allowing the military to expel openly gay personnel and, when he signed legislation last year ending the Federal guarantee of welfare, declared that she would not "raise a finger or a dime" to re-elect him. She said his ideological fickleness has left NOW without a party.

Ms. Estrich defended her support for President Clinton in part on the ground that Mr. Clinton "has more class" than to be a sexual abuser. She made her case in an online exchange in *Slate* with Smart Taylor Jr., who wrote in *The American Lawyer* that Ms. Jones's charges were more serious and more credible than Ms. Hill's.

Ms. Estrich, who was raped more than 20 years ago, says that Mr. Clinton is not the type. "Racists and harassers are not generally sexy guys who like women and step over the line," she wrote in *Slate*. "They are, in my experience, very angry men with very negative, hostile — even violent — views of women, which is why, when you're on the receiving end, it feels like violence and not sex. It is."

But she also acknowledges constructing a defense that conforms to her politics: "You believe in principle. I believe in politics. Here is what I learned in law school. I learned that if you push any legal questions hard enough and far enough, principle turns into politics."



In 1991, women House members marched up the Capitol for Anita Hill. For Paula Jones it's a different story.

Clinton in the Bully Pulpit

The 105th Congress: A Study in Sameness

THE more Congress changes, the more it remains the same, at least in everything except party affiliation. For all the talk about how the new Republican Congress two years ago brought a new kind of citizen lawmaker to Washington, the percentage of House members with prior experience in elected office went from 67 in 1993 (the 103rd Congress) to 66 in 1995 (the 104th Congress), and stayed at 66 in 1997. Indeed, when it comes to religion, marital status, education, race, sex and age, the differences from one Congress to the next are almost indistinguishable. The Senate seems to change a little more, because it's smaller; the presence of four more Catholic Senators this year, for example, means 4 percent more Catholics than in 1995. But there are two statistics that show significant change. The first echoes, or even exaggerates, a visible change in the population. It is the steady decline in the number of military veterans in Congress. The other major shift, though smaller, may be more important, perhaps even revolutionary: a modest but steady decline in the percentage of lawyers in Congress over the last four years. But don't cheer yet. Lawyers still make up 40 percent of the House of Representatives and 56 percent of the Senate.

ADAM CLYMER

Congress	House			Senate		
	103d	104th	105th	103d	104th	105th
Republicans	41%	53%	52%	43%	52%	55%
Democrats	59	47	48	57	48	45
Men	89	89	88	94	92	91
Women	11	11	12	6	8	9
Average age	52	51	52	58	58	56
Freshmen	25	20	17	13	11	15
White	86	86	87	96	96	96
Black	9	9	8	1	1	1
Hispanic	4	4	4	0	0	0
Asian-American	1	1	1	2	2	2
American Indian	0	0	0	1	1	1
Prior elected exp.	67	66	66	76	80	81
Lawyers	44	41	40	60	58	56
Advanced degrees	65	63	65	74	72	70
Military experience	40	35	31	61	54	48
Married	85	85	85	85	86	85
Religious affiliation:						
Protestant	61	60	60	59	57	57
Catholic	27	29	29	23	20	24
Jewish	8	6	6	10	9	10
Other/none	4	5	5	8	14	9

Sources: Congressional Quarterly, Almanac of American Politics

Continued From Page 1

out against the breakdown of the implicit social compact of the post-World War II era: when companies prospered, they shared the prosperity with the workers.

For example, he said, corporate America currently gives senior executives generous health and retirement benefits, while only 14 percent of workers earning \$10,000 to \$20,000 are covered by 401(k) retirement programs and only 34 percent by a pension plan.

"It has never been economics alone that defines America," Mr. Reich said. "If we choose as a culture to push back against the economic forces that would otherwise divide us, it is within our ability to do so. And the consequence of choosing otherwise — by pretending that the choice is not ours to make — is to cease being a society."

But during the campaign year just past, Mr. Clinton chose to emphasize the good news about the economy — job growth, reduced deficits and stable prices — while giving nods to Mr. Reich's concerns by saying that those at risk in the new economy should be helped by tax cuts for education and small government steps to make health insurance and pensions somewhat more secure.

Occasionally he reverted to the populist tones of his 1992 campaign. But when he did, political consultants were on hand to remind him, as Dick Morris recounts in his recent book, that when his speeches contained only good economic news and not the mixed message, voter approval rose by 20 percent.

So instead, Mr. Clinton used his bully pulpit not to afflict the comfortable — whose campaign cash he was assiduously soliciting — but to highlight popular poll-tested ideas such as youth curfews or school uniforms. When he addressed the themes of corporate responsibility, he did so by showcasing companies that were doing something extra for their workers.

"Teddy Roosevelt had very clear causes in which he was also clearly the leader," said Mr. Fields of Washington University. "That's less obvious with Clinton. The issues he's carrying have lots of people who represent them and often he's back in the pack on them. He's for improving education, a lot of popular and good things that have a lot of support, but there is no particular agenda in which he seems to be out front."

Mr. Clinton's aides say that the President now plans to turn his eloquence and moral suasion to education and welfare. Those, of course, are areas where he might have had a more direct role if he had not signed Republican legislation that gave states the primary responsibility for welfare policy and if he had not agreed with Republican governors that education standards should be a state matter.

But he still hopes to bring about change by holding up positive models to the nation. "So when business and communities join together to provide jobs for welfare recipients, I will be there," he said recently. "When parents and state legislators work to establish and uphold the toughest standards for our schools, I will be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline and hope to their children through school uniforms or imposing curfews or enforcing truancy laws, I will continue to be there."

Is there enough bully in that kind of pulpit? When Mr. Clinton's legacy is in the hands of historians, they may be better able to decide whether the President was leading or simply cheerleading.

Inaugural Poetry: The Ode Not Taken

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON
ACROSS four years in office, President Clinton has made familiar that near-teary gesture of seeming touched in public by a story, a phrase, a humble presence, and of punctuating it with the patriarchal smile and head-bobbing display of approval patented by a predecessor, Ronald Reagan. At his second inauguration tomorrow, Americans might look for such a moment from Mr. Clinton when Miller Williams, an Arkansas poet, rises to honor him in a burst of inspiration ordered up for the occasion. Should Mr. Clinton oblige with a Gipster take as he did four years ago for Maya Angelou's reading of her "On the Pulse of Morning," he will merit credit for helping the citizenry negotiate one of the more awkward gestures of American life: the pause by a mass audience for a reading of poetry to mark a public occasion.



Miller Williams of Arkansas.

Much as heads are inevitably bowed in public upon the cue to bear the word of God, so the inaugural audience will seem to listen extra hard, some peering unblinkingly, as if that's the trick to getting a poem's meaning. Jean Cocteau, the French author and film maker, could have had in mind this captive American audience, so ear-boxed after a campaign year of sound bites, when he declared, "Poetry is indispensable — if only I knew what for."

Unless Mr. Williams has the mass-audience knack of his daughter, the singer Lucinda Williams ("Passionate Kisses," "Hot Blood" and other lyrical turns on middle-aged mournfulness), the grayer heads in the national audience may drift off to recall Robert Frost's reading on the icy day of John F. Kennedy's inauguration 36 years ago. Facing a glaring sun and buffeting winds, the poet had to scrap his new work and recite "The Gift Outright" from memory. "The land was ours before we were the land's," the 86-year-old man ad-libbed, his plight as poignant as his poem.

Poets themselves best describe the pearls-before-swine risk of populist versifying. Oscar Wilde sneered, "All bad poetry springs from genuine feeling." That humble attentiveness as a throng is presented with a poem leaves some poets bemused. "There is a view that poetry should improve your

life," John Ashberry once ooted. "I think people confuse it with the Salvation Army." Others are unamused. "Anyone who regards poetry as an entertainment, as a 'read,' commits an anthropological crime, in the first place, against himself," warned Joseph Brodsky, who revered poetry as "simply talking back to the language itself."

Miller Williams, an amiable man and regional poet who admitted to turning to a glass of bourbon in advance of his muse the other night, sounds awed by the prospect of trying to engage a vast political audience with what Marianne Moore termed "the primal necessity" of poetry.

"When I'm feeling grand, I tell myself I want to read a poem worthy of the American people," said the 66-year-old poet. "And when I'm myself, I say: God, just don't let me embarrass my friends." He knew the Clintons casually 20 years ago when they taught law at the University of Arkansas, where he directs the university's publishing house.

The poet promises the poem will be short, 38 to 40 lines. "It's about the American idea," he said recently. "I'm still turning my words over. I don't want to rattle that box too much."

Hardly as well known as Ms. Angelou, Mr. Williams is aware of the fresh celebrity and sales that her reading generated four years ago. "I would welcome it, of course," he said. "I don't write poems to keep them secret." His work uses plain-sounding language in dramatic monologues and narratives, often with quirky themes and titles. "Raising a Glass to a Passing of Some Importance and Coming to Terms With the Limitations of Art" begins, "Oh Laurel, oh Hardy, oh Spanky, Hal Roach is dead."

Can the inaugural crowd muster appreciation for the poet's work, or must politeness suffice? "I certainly don't expect anyone to take their hands out of their pockets to applaud, not in that temperature," he said.

President Kennedy made a show of appreciating poetry to distinguish his inauguration, inviting Frost whose work at poetry was nothing less than "a way of taking life by the throat." Mr. Kennedy himself returned the honor when, a month before his assassination, he dedicated the Robert Frost Library at Amherst College with some starkly political musings on poetry. "When power leads man towards arrogance, poetry reminds him of his limitations," he said. "When power corrupts, poetry cleanses."

The Nation

At the New Frontier of Eavesdropping

By JOHN MARKOFF

Only Representative John A. Boehner of Ohio had prevailed upon his wife to buy a digital cellular phone instead of a conventional analog model. Then, while cruising past the waffle shop in Lake City, Fla., John and Alice Martin would have merely heard static on their Radio Shack scanner instead of House Speaker Newt Gingrich.

The Florida janitor and his wife, whose recording of the Speaker's conversation with Mr. Boehner and some other Republican colleagues set off a fight in the House ethics committee last week, inadvertently drew national attention to the ease with which it is possible to eavesdrop in the information age. They also wrote a new chapter in the high-tech spy-vs.-spy war that is as old as American communications technology itself.

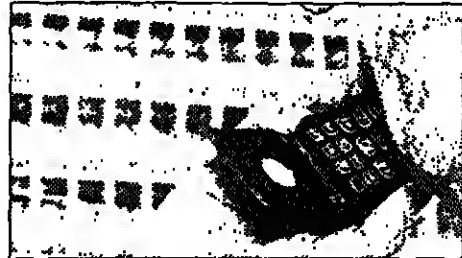
As Americans outfit themselves with a dazzling array of electronic communications gadgets — cell phones, portable phones, baby monitors, pagers, personal digital assistants, interactive cable systems, laptop computers — their expectations of privacy are being redefined.

Pre-Computer Protections

This is happening because the rapid emergence of consumer-oriented computer and communications technologies is exerting powerful pressure on protections legislated in the pre-computer era.

On the one hand, computers, fiber optic and wireless communications networks raise the specter of the most invasive Orwellian possibilities. But at the same time, data

American ingenuity invades privacy — the House Speaker's, for example — at every turn of technology.



scrambling, or cryptography, technologies hold out the promise of absolute privacy and anonymity — a threat so fearsome to Government and law enforcement officials that until late last year the technology was listed with munitions protected from export.

"Everyone wants to come up with the ultimate privacy weapon, but for every weapon there's a counter-weapon for snooping," said Alan F. Westin, a political science professor at Columbia University.

By themselves, technological changes have always presented a challenge to individual privacy rights. "The entire concept is only 100 years old," said Carey Heckman, a professor of law at Stanford University. "Privacy is still not completely defined."

The invention of the telegraph in the 1840's was soon followed by linemen who would climb the poles to tap the wires. That led to states passing anti-telegraph tapping laws, but businessmen still carried code books to protect their communications.

In the 1880's and 1890's, anti-telephone wiretapping laws quickly followed as the brand new voice communication technology reached the mass market. Still, telephone eavesdroppers often went undetected.

As early as the advent of shortwave radio at the beginning of this century, laws were enacted to protect the confidentiality of ship-to-shore communications, but ham radio became a fad as people would sit in their dens and listen to the traffic.

It was only as recently as 1967 that the Supreme Court, in Katz v. United States, determined that the F.B.I.'s use of electronic devices to listen to and record telephone conversations without a warrant constituted a violation of the Fourth Amendment's unreasonable search and seizure provisions.

That ruling defined many modern notions about privacy and freedom from high-tech surveillance. But while the 1986 Electronic Communications Privacy Act extended earlier laws to include privacy protection for cellular telephone users, it also reduced the penalty for intercepting such communications from a felony to a \$500 fine.

Moreover, the law specifically exempted from protection eavesdropping on electronic transmissions between home portable telephones and base stations.

The Martins, it seems, were simply taking part in an increasingly popular American sport: eavesdropping on their neighbors by using radio scanning devices.

The Martins, who said they happened upon the Republicans' call when the vacationing

Mr. Boehner drove into their cellular neighborhood, say they taped the conversation, using a small recorder they carried in their car, to pass on to their grandchildren.

While intercepting calls is clearly illegal, there is no shortage of easily available and simple modifications to over-the-counter radio scanners to permit tapping into supposedly off-limits cellular frequencies.

Indeed, there's no need to even go to the trouble of modifying the scanner: standard cellular phones come equipped with the built-in capability to scan the same radio frequencies. It's only necessary to find the World Wide Web page where some radio-scanning enthusiast has posted the secret-key sequence to transform a standard cell phone into a scanner. Several models on the market today contain this feature, supposedly hidden in the innards of the palm-sized electronic devices for technicians performing diagnostics and repairs.

E-Mail Alert

Moreover, the advent of computer technologies and the Internet have given broad new power to high-tech snoops. A thriving computer underground makes use of secret programs called packet filters to conduct surveillance on the millions of electronic mail messages sent every day. Unlike cellular telephone snooping, which can only pick up a conversation within a range of a mile or so, packet filters permit data thieves to target all communications from a single address, invisibly making copies of targeted messages to be read later.

Digital cellular phones provide limited protection from casual eavesdroppers — they require the power of a computer, and not merely a tampering with the frequencies,

to interpret a signal — but real privacy protection is likely to be elusive in the wireless digital era as well.

Many phone companies are now rushing to introduce new digital services that provide better sound quality. But when security standards were set for the new systems five years ago, technical experts from the Government discouraged the phone companies from building in coding systems that would be difficult to break. Moreover, the phone companies themselves decided that real privacy was not a major issue.

"Time to market turned out to be more important than real security," said John Gilmore, a board member of the Electronic Frontier Foundation, an organization dedicated to protecting privacy rights.

Indeed, in recent weeks the supposedly secret formula for scrambling digital wireless phone calls was posted to an Internet mailing list. That virtually insures that hackers will soon create a way to modify scanners like the one the Martins used, making digital cell phone calls just as vulnerable as analog calls are today.

"There's a period in which privacy prevails over surveillance," said Mr. Westin, "but it's never for very long."

Crime Fighting's About-face

Continued From Page 1

cities where the police have adopted new tactics: in Houston by 49 percent, Chicago by 16 percent and Boston by 62 percent.

It is difficult to overstate how different the new view of policing is. As recently as 1990, Travis Hirschi, an influential criminologist, in a book titled "A General Theory of Crime" (Stanford University Press), wrote, "No evidence exists that augmentation of police forces or equipment, differential patrol strategies or differential intensities of surveillance have any effect on crime rates."

The seeds of the new approach were sown by Mr. Bratton when he took charge of the New York City Transit Authority police in 1990. Following the advice of George Kelling, a criminologist, Mr. Bratton instituted a program of trying to head off more serious crimes by cracking down on minor ones like turnstile-jumping and panhandling. Later, as commissioner, Mr. Bratton added further elements to his management strategy, using computer-generated statistics to target crime hot spots and making his subordinates responsible for reaching crime-reduction goals, the way a businessman demands increased profits.

But, cautioned James Q. Wilson, a professor of management at the University of California at Los Angeles, improved police work is not the whole story. In Los Angeles, Professor Wilson said, "the police may not be part of the story at all," since murders have dropped there by 37 percent over the past five years despite poor police leadership, bad morale and a decline in arrests.

Instead, Professor Wilson said, it is important to note that the adult homicide rate has been declining since 1981, and that the only reason the homicide rate rose in the late 1980's was that juvenile violence tripled with the advent of crack. This form of cocaine brought youths into the drug trade and created a demand for automatic handguns. Many teen-agers suddenly wanted a gun for safety or prestige.

Unlike adult crime, teen-age crime "follows a fad-like pattern, where the changes come quickly," Profes-

sor Wilson said. Just as teen-agers' tastes in clothing are driven by trends, so was their jump into crack culture. But when they saw the cost in death, hospitalization and prison time, many turned away, he said.

Geoffrey Canada, the president of the Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families in Harlem, who counsels poor children, said he has witnessed a change among 14-, 15- and 16-year-olds in the past five years. The toll of death in their families, tougher police tactics and stepped-up efforts by neighborhood groups to combat violence have combined to reduce involvement in the drug trade.

The drug market is still there, Mr. Canada said, but it is more stable now, back in the hands of older people who treat it like a business.

"When you had 15-year-olds selling crack, they were wild cowboys who shot off their guns if somebody dissed them," he said.

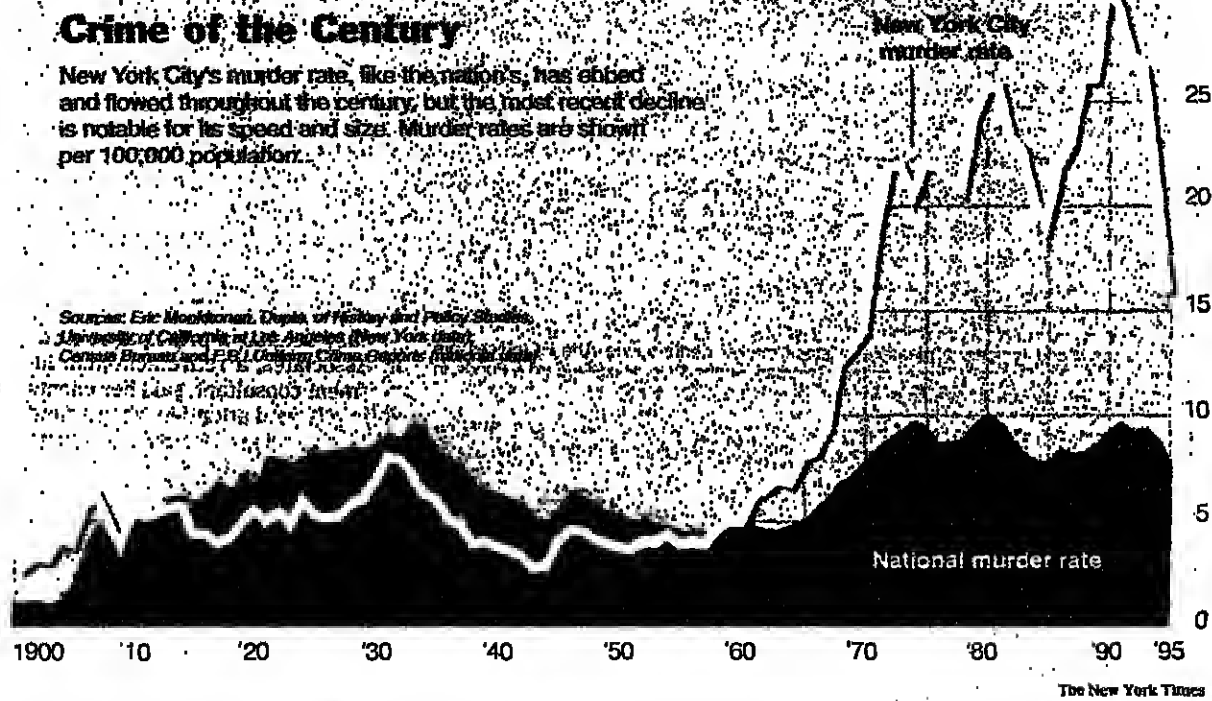
There are several other possible explanations for the decline in murder. The development of hospital trauma centers has saved more gunshot victims from death. The ban on assault weapons and the Brady law, requiring a five-day waiting period to purchase a handgun, have made it harder for criminals to obtain guns. Longer prison sentences have removed some career criminals from the streets, though the threat of longer sentences may not actually deter crime.

Given this plenitude of possible causes, it may be that "this is a case where the whole is far greater than the sum of its parts," said Jeffrey Fagan, the director of the Center for Violence Research and Prevention at Columbia University.

Homicide Isn't Human Nature

This, said Professor Fagan, would also fit in the epidemiological theory of a "tipping point," where a number of small factors help reduce the epidemic faster than can be logically explained.

There is no guarantee, of course, that the drop in murder will last just because it has declined for five years. Some experts are worried that the rapidly rising



popularity of methamphetamines, or speed, in the Southwest may turn it into something like crack was in the mid-1980's, an unforeseen catalyst that drives up crime rates. But the recent decrease does illustrate an important point that often gets forgotten in the shrill public debate over crime: there is nothing immutable in human nature about homicide.

Roger Lane, a historian at Haverford College, calculates the murder rate in England in the 13th and 14th centuries was at least 20 to 25 per 100,000, two to three times the 1995 American rate of 8 per 100,000.

Most of these murders took place in the countryside, where peasants, who drank beer as a daily beverage, carried knives for eating and quarterstaves for walking on muddy roads. Quarrels between neighbors escalated into violence, with no legal authority to settle disputes.

"Whatever your prejudices, there were no guns, no blacks, no cities larger than Kokomo, Ind.," said Professor Lane, the author of a forthcoming book, "Murder in America: A History" (Ohio State University Press). "Religion, tradition, the community and attachment to the family were all powerful," he said, and banging was the penalty for any felony.

While some criminologists remain skeptical that the current decline in crime can continue without fundamental economic and social changes, Felton Earls, a professor of child psychiatry at the Harvard School of Public Health, says he believes improved police work may help troubled neighborhoods.

"This could be the leading edge of greater change," said Professor Earls, "because reduced crime brings local neighborhood life under better control."

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ECONOMY

To the Battlements at Fortress Fidelity

Mutual fund giant seeks new stride after missteps.

By Edward Wyatt

AFTER one of the most disappointing years in its half-century existence, Fidelity Investments has decided that its mutual fund customers need a little hand-holding. If only it can first get them to atop their hand-wringing.

Over the next two weeks, three top Fidelity executives and several fund managers will meet with shareholders in six cities to reassure them that the country's largest mutual fund company is on the mend.

Never before has the company reached out in such a public way to its shareholders, though the need for such a gesture is obvious. A majority of Fidelity's once-vaunted equity funds now languish in the bottom half of their classes. Dozens of portfolio managers and executives have quit abruptly. Market share is eroding. And this comes at a time when demand for mutual funds is exploding.

Fidelity watched almost helplessly as, for the first time in years, its share of all mutual fund assets sank from 13.6 percent in late 1995 to 13.4 percent at the end of last year, according to Dalbar Inc., a research firm. The picture looks worse when focusing on recently invested dollars. A mere two years ago, Fidelity

captured 3 out of 10 of the new dollars Americans stashed in mutual funds. Today, it gets just 1 out of 10, according to the Financial Research Corporation.

To be sure, some of the company's decline has as much to do with Americans' thirst for index funds — investments that aim simply to match market benchmarks, not pulverize them. Such funds run counter to Fidelity's stock in trade and its swashbuckling image. And until now, Fidelity has had far fewer products for people who favor this passive style of investing than its more no-hum competitors like the Vanguard Group.

Fidelity executives say they want to remedy that. But they need to move quickly on other fronts, too. And while they are flashing a new attitude, it is not clear whether they have the antidote for what ails the company.

Among the moves that Fidelity hopes will shake its business from a yearlong stupor are several that make the Boston company sound like its competitors — including Vanguard, the country's second-largest fund company. Fidelity plans to add index funds to the handful it now runs, to cut fees on bond funds to make them more competitive, and to market strongly its Funds Network supermarket, even if that means promoting the wares of competitors.

But the strategy is more remarkable for what it lacks. Management seems to have little stomach for scaling back its desire to dominate every nook and cranny of the investment business. Nor does there seem to be a concrete strategy for restoring the world-beating returns that

vaulted the company to the top of the industry in size and influence. And so far, there is no talk of tinkering with compensation to tie fund managers more closely to the company or of abandoning Fidelity's longstanding policy of promoting from within.

One exception to that policy has been Peter J. Dowd, the company's newly hired senior vice president and director of corporate affairs. Mr. Dowd, who had worked at Texaco Inc., has urged Fidelity to raise its public profile, starting with this month's meetings.

That said, shareholders who attend the gatherings in hopes of hearing something new could be disappointed. The kickoff takes place on Tuesday at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, and all the seats are already reserved. "We know there are questions on investors' minds, and we want to be there to answer them," Paul J. Hondros, president of Fidelity's retail products group, said last week as he prepared for the tour. But, he added, "I think we feel comfortable in the way we have run the business, fundamentally and philosophically."

Outside the company, however, everyone is not comfortable, and many investors are looking for more than the now-familiar assurances Fidelity has offered in the last 12 months: that the company has a deep bench of fund managers in training, that the right managers are now aligned with the right funds and that the company is well-positioned to offer investors what they need.

"Fidelity has always been a little arrogant," said Eric Kobren, executive editor of Fidelity Insight, a newsletter that tracks the company's funds, and president of Insight Management, a money manager that invests in funds managed by Fidelity and other companies. "They haven't recognized that they serve their customers, that their customers do have concerns that should be addressed. It's not a matter of 'Give me your money and I'll take care of it.'"

Turnover, as much as sagging returns, has investors fretting. Corporate executives responsible for overseeing retirement plans, as well as consultants in the retirement-plan business, say that if a company like Fidelity fails to address those concerns, it is likely to lose business — and quickly.

Stacy Schaus, a principal at Hewitt Associates, a retirement-plan investment consultant, said her clients definitely paid attention when a fund company had heavy turnover among portfolio managers.

"Manager tenure is a key criteria," Ms. Schaus said. "In a lot of cases, if a fund manager has changed within the last two or three years, a fund would not even be a candidate" for many retirement plans. In Fidelity's case, the managers of 18 of its 29 diversified equity funds have changed in the last year. The latest move came on Friday, when Fidelity announced that Abigail Johnson, the founder's granddaughter, would no longer run Fidelity's \$1.3 billion Trend fund, but would instead assume a supervisory role.

Both William J. Hayes, the director of equity investments, and Mr. Hondros say that Fidelity has not, in fact, been hurt by the defections because the company develops portfolio managers and promotes from within.

Ms. Schaus declined to comment specifically on Fidelity's current woes. But in the world of retirement planning, she said, clients often look incredulously on arguments that a departing manager can be replaced with someone just as good who will follow the same strategy.

"If a fund manager has changed 5 times in the last 10 years," she said, "a fund company will often say, 'Look at the performance.' But at the end of the day, turnover is almost always a negative. It's hard to make that a positive."

Some companies, including Putnam Investments and the American Funds, use a team approach to portfolio management. Even employers that sign up a fund company to provide a retirement plan might not know who is actually deciding what stocks a fund will buy.

But Fidelity has consistently re-

jected that approach, and Mr. Hondros said the company's approach did not need to be altered. "For some investment companies, if you lose three or four managers, that's a lot," Mr. Hondros said. "But we have more than 80 equity managers."

Fidelity has lost more than three or four managers, however, with more than a dozen leaving in the last year. J. Gary Burkhead, president of Fidelity's investment management unit, declined to specify what, if anything, Fidelity had done to keep managers at the company. "Compensation in this business is dynamic," Mr. Burkhead said. "We make sure our compensation packages are competitive, and we offer very attractive long-term career opportunities."

To be sure, competing fund companies have offered lucrative packages to poach Fidelity managers, offering them broader responsibility, as in the case of Brian S. Posner, who last month left Fidelity for Warburg, Pincus, Counsellors, or equity stakes in a management company.

In that regard, Fidelity's own efforts appear to have fallen short. In 1995, FMR juggled its ownership structure to give 51 percent of the stock to about 50 Fidelity executives and senior portfolio managers. Among those said by Fidelity insiders to receive the highly coveted shares were Jeffrey N. Vinik and Robert A. Beckwith, two star managers who have since left the company.

The exodus has left many shareholders wondering just who is running their funds. Mr. Hondros said one reason for its meetings with investors was to introduce some of Fidelity's fund managers to shareholders — starting with Mr. Stansky, manager of the \$54 billion Magellan fund.

"People don't know Bob Stansky and what he stands for," Mr. Hondros said. "We want people to know what he stands for and what he's about," including how he has positioned the Magellan portfolio.

If Fidelity investors do not know Bob Stansky, they do, in all likelihood, remember one Fidelity executive: Peter Lynch, the legendary Magellan manager who toted up an average annual return of 29.2 percent in 13 years at the head of the fund, a record more than twice as good as the overall market in that period.

Mr. Lynch, who is still a vice chairman but does not actively manage investments, will be conspicuously absent from the Fidelity road show, which will be led by Mr. Burkhead, Robert L. Reynolds, who oversees Fidelity's retirement programs, and Mr. Hondros.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Lynch said he was scheduled to take part in the road show, previously set for early January, but that conflicts arose when the dates were changed. Mr. Lynch is expected to appear, however, at the Jan. 30 session in Boston, the spokeswoman said.

No fund better epitomizes Fidelity's struggles over the last year than Magellan, the nation's largest mutual fund. This year, because the fund's trailing three-year return fell below the gain of the Standard & Poor's 500 over that period, Fidelity was forced to lower the management fee that Magellan charges to shareholders by more than a third, from 73-hundredths of 1 percent to 47-hundredths. On a fund that size, the change will cost Fidelity about \$140 million in annual revenues.

Meanwhile, Vanguard's best-selling index fund, which tracks the S&P 500 index, has only become more popular. People speak about that fund, with its low charges to investors, in the same breathless tones they once reserved for Magellan.

While the struggles of Fidelity's equity fund business have become the most talked-of and written-about subject in the mutual fund industry over the last 12 months, the cracks in its facade date back to early 1994.

That was the year that Fidelity, with little reason to fear that its dominance of the equity-fund performance rankings would ever be in jeopardy, laid the world know it had a bigger target in its sights: bond funds, which then held more than half of the \$1.5 trillion in assets in the mutual fund industry.

Bond funds were not known as an exciting business, but Fidelity as-

On the Road With Fidelity

NEW YORK	Jan. 21	The Waldorf-Astoria	SOLD OUT
ATLANTA	Jan. 22	Ritz-Carlton Buckhead Hotel	SOLD OUT
DALLAS	Jan. 23	Wynham Anatole Hotel	
SAN FRANCISCO	Jan. 27	Hotel Nikko	
CHICAGO	Jan. 28	Intercontinental Hotel	
BOSTON	Jan. 30	Westin Hotel	

New York and Atlanta sessions have been filled to capacity, Fidelity says. Shareholders may make reservations for events, which are all free but will be booked on a first-come basis, by calling (800) 852-7272.

FEATURED SPEAKERS



Paul J. Hondros, President of the Fidelity Investments retail group



Robert L. Reynolds, President of Fidelity's institutional retirement group



J. Gary Burkhead, President of Fidelity Management and Research

serted that it had a new formula for success. Not content to model conservative funds after broad indexes, Fidelity was applying to the business its famous and well-tested equity-fund formula: picking individual securities in markets around the globe.

That led many of Fidelity's mainstream bond funds into complex derivatives and volatile emerging markets, particularly those in South America. When interest rates rose in 1994, the funds suffered, and when emerging markets staggered under the devaluation of the Mexican peso, Fidelity's bond funds — and some of its asset-allocation funds, which had been marketed to retirement investors as safe, no-brainer investments — fell sharply.

But even as Fidelity moved to shore up its bond operations, the company failed to realize the impact of changes sweeping the mutual fund industry. Retirement plans were becoming an ever bigger part of the business, and the people who chose the mutual funds to include in the plans valued stability above all.

Magellan was the most desired fund in America among retirement plan investors, but its very popularity was part of the problem. By the time Mr. Vinik took over that fund in mid-1992, its assets had topped \$20 billion. Asked at the time whether he thought the fund should be closed to new investors, Mr. Vinik said he saw no reason that he could not manage several times that much money, using the same techniques he had learned from Mr. Lynch.

Those techniques included making big bets on certain industries, like energy and technology. His bets were copied by many of his colleagues for their funds.

For a while, it worked. And had Mr. Vinik dispersed the proceeds from the eventual sale of his technology investments among a broad array of stocks, Fidelity's golden anniversary year might have been very different. Instead, Mr. Vinik moved the Magellan fund heavily into cash and long-term bonds early last year and missed out on a stock market that kept rising.

To consultants who watch the performance of 401(k) plans for corporate clients, Mr. Vinik's moves were but symptoms of a broad problem at Fidelity. By the end of 1995, the company's most popular equity funds were all over the map in strategies and stock selections.

The largest holding in the 5mm Cap Stock fund, for example, was a group of S&P 500 futures contracts, which are essentially bets on the largest-capitalization stocks in the market. The Capital Appreciation fund had its largest weighting, in utilities, which paid high dividends but were appreciating at less than half the rate of the overall market.

The Growth Company fund, which invested in shares of companies with rapidly rising earnings, and the Value fund, which emphasized beaten-down stocks that had fallen out of favor, had 5 of their top 10 holdings in common. Only one of these four funds — Growth Company — was outpacing the S&P index.

By March of last year, Fidelity could no longer ignore the clamor of institutional investors. In a stunning

shake-up, Fidelity assigned new managers to 25 equity or asset allocation funds and realigned its equity funds into seven groups.

But that would not be all. A dozen portfolio managers subsequently left. As the departures multiplied, including Mr. Vinik and two others reassigned in the March shake-up, Fidelity overhauled its ranks of stock fund managers twice more.

Some funds, like Growth Company, have labored under three portfolio managers in less than a year, and executive recruiters for the fund industry say they still receive calls from Fidelity employees looking for attractive positions elsewhere.

And once again, retirement plan consultants are grumbling, this time that the ranks of experienced fund managers are thinning so quickly that inexperienced people are being promoted before they are ready.

Mr. Hayes shrugs off the complaints. In a recent interview, he said, "We would prefer to have people think about the amount of time our people have been with us, rather than the time they have spent on any one fund."

Along with portfolio managers, at least 15 senior marketing officials and other business executives left Fidelity last year.

To the credit of the remaining fund managers, Fidelity's fund performance has improved since the March overhaul. In the second half of 1996, 74 percent of Fidelity's equity funds outperformed their group averages. Mr. Hayes said, "We think it's been a very successful transition," he said.

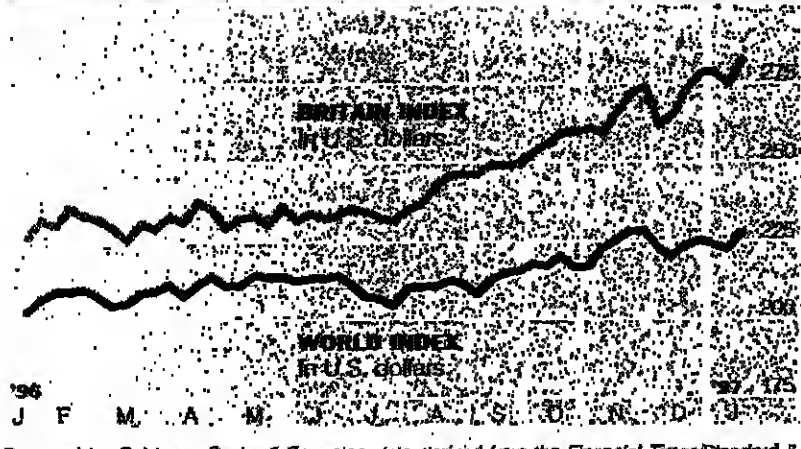
But the ranks appear to be thinning, perhaps dangerously so, raising questions about whether long-tenured managers are being forced to spread their good ideas too thinly. As an example, critics point to Bettina Doulton, who last March was moved to head the Puritan fund, Fidelity's fourth-biggest portfolio, with \$16.7 billion in assets.

To that not-inconsiderable load, Fidelity last month added responsibility for Equity-Income II, at \$15 billion Fidelity's fifth-largest fund. Altogether, Ms. Doulton, who declined to be interviewed, now manages more money than everyone except Mr. Stansky of the Magellan fund.

"We hope we're not taking a chance" with Ms. Doulton's workload, Mr. Hayes said. "The reality is that before she took on Puritan, she ran several equity-income funds and had outstanding performance. It's an area she likes and is very good at. I don't think she feels it's a major burden."

While the portfolio managers bear much of the burden in determining whether Fidelity will rise or fall, it is Mr. Burkhead and his staff who must convince shareholders that the company can continue to hold its spot at the top of the mutual fund industry. As he prepared to meet and greet shareholders, Mr. Burkhead alluded to an awareness that the big mutual fund companies are at war and that Fidelity is under fire. Therefore, he said, "we want to make sure we are out there on the front lines."

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS

Country	Index	Week		YTD		YTD Dividend		Index	YTD % Chg.
		% Chg.	Rank	% Chg.	Rank	%	Yield		
Australia	219.04	0.6	21	-1.3	27	4.09	186.45	0.3	
Austria	185.61	-0.2	25	-2.2	24	1.84	155.53	2.3	
Belgium	230.08	0.9	20	1.0	19	3.42	188.46	5.7	
Brazil	209.49	4.3	2	10.4	3	1.51	402.39	10.9	
Britain	282.01	2.7	7	-0.4	23	3.79	250.65	2.2	
Canada	201.82	3.3	5	8.2	6	1.86	195.55	3.6	
Denmark	358.89	1.4	15	2.0	16	1.46	299.68	6.1	
Finland	257.00	1.7	14	4.6	8	1.92	258.70	8.9	
France	214.87	2.2	12	0.4	20	2.67	183.11	4.9	
Germany	189.40	0.7	22	-0.3	22	1.51	158.66	4.2	
Hong Kong	514.25	3.7	4	1.4	18	3.03	510.91	1.5	
Indonesia	242.51	1.1	19	6.3	5	1.46	352.96	6.7	
Ireland	329.89	0.6	24	0.3	21	3.22	284.75	4.0	
Italy	95.95	7.2	1	14.9	1	1.87	112.01	18.2	
Japan	120.10	2.7	6	-6.9	28	0.87	88.92	-6.1	
Malaysia	617.58	-0.1	26	2.4	14	1.05	590.83	0.7	
Mexico	1,380.83	4.2	3	11.6	2	0.95	11,649.22	11.0	
Netherlands	331.41	1.3	16	-1.4	25	2.70	273.66	3.1	
New Zealand	95.46	1.3	17	4.0	9	3.90	71.51	3.7	
Norway	315.26	3.1	6	6.7	4	1.85	271.25	5.9	
Philippines	208.06	-0.4	27	2.2	15	0.61	272.75	2.2	
Singapore	436.41	2.4	10	3.9	10	0.98	282.86	4.4	
South Africa	326.14	2.0	13	2.4	13	2.38	331.37	1.8	
Spain	228.18	2.5	9	3.8	11	2.67	232.13	7.2	
Sweden	428.03	1.2	18	1.5	17	1.99	445.42	4.4	
Switzerland	235.11	0.6	23	-1.4	26	1.43	203.13	2.3	
Thailand	99.38	-3.3	28	3.7	12	3.46	89.07	3.9	
United States	316.26	2.3	11	4.8	7	1.87	316.26	4.8	

COMPOSITE INDICES

	Index	Week % Chg.	Rank	YTD % Chg.	Rank	YTD Dividend %	Yield
Europe	241.24	2.1	0.7	2.73	212.95	4.1	
Pacific Basin	141.43	2.5	-4.9	1.35	104.94	-4.2	
Europe/Pacific	182.98	2.3	-1.9	2.11	145.72	0.3	
World	227.45	2.3	1.4	1.99	198.99	2.5	

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1997 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

CURRENCIES

Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	117.38	116.06	+1.13	105.35
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.8174	1.5855	+2.01	1.4803
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3395	1.3482	-0.64	1.3670
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6674	1.6807	-0.79	1.5115

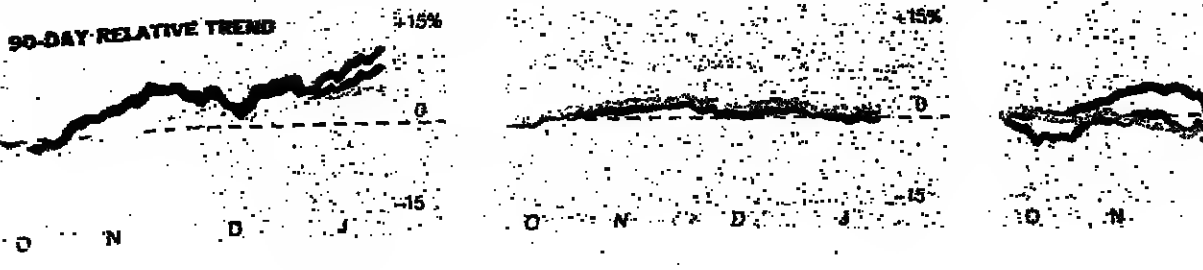
Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

Jan. 13-17: The Dow Passes 6,800, for a Gain of Almost 400 Points in 1997

PRICES	Change
Broad market	Up 2.19%
S. & P. 500 index	776.17
Blue chips	Up 1.93%
Dow 30 industrials	6,833.10
Small capitalization	Up 0.49%
Russell 2000 index	367.88

DOMESTIC BONDS	Change
Treasuries	Up 0.42%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	193.79
Municipals	Up 0.22%
Bond Buyer index	115.72
Corporates	Up 0.52%
Merrill Lynch Master Index	843.83

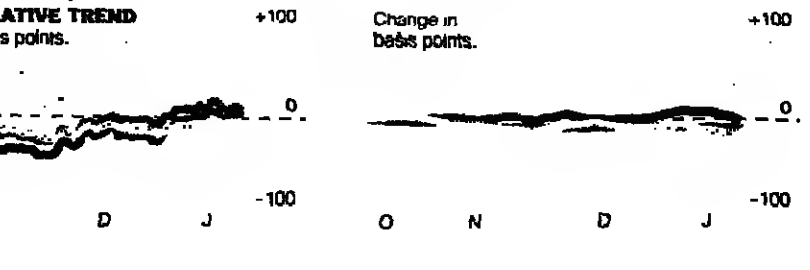
AROUND THE WORLD	Change
European stocks	Up 2.12%
F.T.-Actuaries Europa	241.24
Asian stocks	Up 2.46%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	141.43
Gold	Down 1.05%
New York cash price	\$356.40



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor, Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs, IBC's Money Fund Review; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs.

BONDS	Yields
Long bonds	6.83%
30-year Treasuries	Down 1 basis pt.
Notes	5.96%
2-year Treasuries	Down 6 basis pts.
Municipals	5.83%
Bond Buyer index	Down 3 basis pts.

OTHER INVESTMENTS	Change
Money market funds	4.82%
Taxable average	Down 7 basis pts.
Bank C.D.'s	5.04%
1-year small savers	Up 1 basis pt.
Stocks	1.92%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 4 b.p.



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An Unworthy Speaker

An impressive bipartisan majority of the House ethics committee has now voted to "reprimand" Speaker Newt Gingrich and add a \$300,000 fine to compensate the House for the money the committee had to spend because Mr. Gingrich misled it. The committee thus avoided the deadly word "censure," a punishment that would have forced Mr. Gingrich's resignation. But nobody should be misled by the linguistic niceties. The fine and the language of the subcommittee's report add up to something far more damaging than a reprimand, which is serious enough in itself.

The net effect is that the Speaker has been seriously compromised. It also means the Republicans who have worked so hard to protect him should now look quickly for a new Speaker.

James Cole, the committee's independent counsel, said in his report on Friday that the Speaker's misconduct "fell somewhere in between" a reprimand and a penalty of censure that would have required Mr. Gingrich to surrender his post. But under House standards of ethics, any misconduct found to warrant a more severe punishment than a reprimand should be disqualifying, and Mr. Gingrich's elaborate plea bargaining in recent weeks should not be allowed to lower that standard.

Mr. Gingrich's partisan defenders in the House have been working over time trying to pass off the ethical misdeeds that the Speaker admitted to on Dec. 21 as minor and merely technical. That defense was never convincing, and Mr. Cole's detailed and surprisingly damning report specifically demolished the G.O.P. excuse that Mr. Gingrich was guilty of "arcane" instead of clear-cut violations.

Mr. Cole referred repeatedly to the fact that Mr. Gingrich provided the committee with "inaccurate, incomplete and unreliable" information. He concluded that the Speaker's abuse of tax-exempt funds for a college course that was part of a concerted Republican political operation to retake the House reflected a pattern of "disregard and lack of respect for the standards of conduct that applied to his activities." Among these abuses, he noted, was the use of tax-exempt funds ostensibly raised to help inner-city youth.

While the report revealed no major new evidence, it illuminated the subcommittee's delibera-

tions, especially its decision to dodge passing judgment on the critical issue of whether Mr. Gingrich had deliberately lied or inadvertently misled the subcommittee about the true nature of the course. Mr. Cole pointed out that neither explanation "reflects creditably on the House." Mr. Cole also made plain that the subcommittee could have argued that Mr. Gingrich had lied but backed off to allow a quick settlement of the case. He added that Mr. Gingrich could have avoided the whole ugly controversy had he followed his own tax lawyer's advice.

The subcommittee chose not to address last week's partisan brawl over the tape-recording of a cellular phone conversation between Mr. Gingrich and other Republican leaders by a Florida couple. But Mr. Cole said the committee believed on other grounds that Mr. Gingrich broke his promise not to deploy his allies to discuss and mischaracterize the Dec. 21 plea bargain in which he admitted that he had brought discredit on the House.

Although House Republicans remain determined to dispose of the case in the shadows of tomorrow's Presidential inauguration, and before House members and the public have a chance to fully digest Mr. Cole's lengthy report, a reading of that report makes it abundantly clear that Mr. Gingrich's misconduct was serious enough to warrant his removal.

The full House is scheduled to vote on Mr. Gingrich's penalty on Tuesday. But that will not end the crisis for the institution. In strictly political terms, Mr. Gingrich may have the armor to survive. But in terms of governance, his actions and the subcommittee's detailed findings have crippled him and damaged the ability of the House to work effectively with the President.

Constructive work would have been hard enough to achieve during a period of divided government without the added burden of Mr. Gingrich's diminished standing. It is therefore our hope that the House Republican majority that rushed to reelect Mr. Gingrich, before Mr. Cole issued the subcommittee's findings, will choose a new Speaker. It is our prediction that in the coming weeks, public condemnation and Mr. Gingrich's weakened condition will force them to.

Hollywood's Long Memory

Elia Kazan informed on his old friends in the Communist Party when he was summoned to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1952. Other prominent entertainment personalities, among them Lee J. Cobb, Burl Ives and the choreographer Jerome Robbins, also named names, but nobody has suffered the sustained censure inflicted upon Mr. Kazan. In the last few weeks, he has again been denied two prestigious Hollywood awards for lifetime achievement, one from the Los Angeles Film Critics Association, the other from the American Film Institute.

As Bernard Weinraub wrote in The Times last Thursday, the decisive factor in both cases was anger at Mr. Kazan's revelatory testimony 45 years ago. But in retaliating against Mr. Kazan, both groups ignored a central lesson of that dark period — the chilling effect on free expression that results when an artist is judged by his politics alone.

The durability of Mr. Kazan's apostasy has a lot to do with his prominence as a director and as a political liberal at the time he appeared before the committee. As Victor Navasky noted in "Naming Names," his book about the anti-Communist hysteria of the early 1950's, no artist was in a stronger position than Mr. Kazan, by virtue of his prestige and economic security, to mount a campaign against Hollywood's threat to blacklist directors, actors and writers who refused to cooperate with the committee. But he chose instead to identify eight of his confederates in the Communist Party during the two years in the mid-30's when he was a member. To his liberal friends, this decision was all the more surprising given the social content of his work. His Broadway plays dealt with problems of

conscience, responsibility and personal honor in a materialistic society. Even in Hollywood, his films had engaged socially significant issues like anti-Semitism ("Gentleman's Agreement"), race relations ("Pinky") and revolution ("Viva Zapata!").

Despite widespread criticism and in some cases outright ostracism, Mr. Kazan never retreated from his view that he had been duty-bound to speak out against what he described as a "dangerous and alien conspiracy." His most famous film, "On the Waterfront," is in fact a parable about informing, in which the naming of names — in this case members of the mob, not the Communist Party — is portrayed as the only honorable thing to do. "I wanted to name everybody," Mr. Kazan said in his 1988 autobiography, and thus "break open the secrecy" of the Communist Party.

Yet so powerful was his animus that it blinded him to a massive moral flaw. Not only did he name names, causing lasting damage to individual careers, but he lent his prestige and moral authority to what was essentially an immoral process, a brief but nevertheless damaging period of officially sponsored hysteria that exacted a huge toll on individual lives, on free speech and on democracy.

But Hollywood's continuing vendetta against him does nothing to repair this damage. Mr. Kazan's achievements cannot be denied. His artistic record is far more impressive than most of those honored by the Film Critics Association and the Film Institute. It is artistry, not politics, that the awards are supposed to honor. For Mr. Kazan's long-ago failure to speak out against blacklisting, Hollywood's arbiters continue to indulge their own form of blacklisting. This is not progress.

America, Syria and South Africa

The usually warm relations between the United States and Nelson Mandela's South African Government were troubled last week by news of a prospective arms deal between South Africa and Syria. Washington put Pretoria on notice that the transfer to Syria of a sophisticated system for accurately directing tank fire might force the suspension of American aid to South Africa, which this year amounts to \$82 million. President Mandela responded icily that his country would make its own decisions in these matters.

Pretoria's agreement to let the partially state-owned company, Denel, explore the Syrian deal is regrettable. But talk of denying aid is premature. More nuanced diplomacy and some common sense should be able to prevent the arms sale without damaging relations with South Africa.

Washington considers Syria to be a terrorist state. Under United States law, countries selling lethal arms to Syria or other countries that sponsor terrorism forfeit their own eligibility to receive many categories of American assistance. Even when a potential arms seller receives no United States aid, as is the case with some European arms-exporting countries, Washington has usually tried

hard to discourage deals with terrorist states. Selling Syria this technology would upset the present military balance between Israel and Syria. Israel now has the tank system, while Syria does not. Ironically, Denel developed the system in a technology-sharing deal between Israel and South Africa's former apartheid regime.

South Africa's arms export industry is one of its more valuable economic inheritances from that old regime, providing jobs and much needed foreign exchange. But, as the present case shows, it can be a diplomatic and political liability. President Mandela has imposed some useful restraints on arms deals. These guidelines ought to have excluded even exploratory dealings with Syria. But pressures from the arms industry and some elements of the governing African National Congress reportedly outweighed Foreign Ministry objections.

Several further stages of official review by Pretoria are required before any actual technology transfer can proceed. Washington, having made clear its legitimate concerns, would now do best to step back from public bullying and see if a calm and respectful diplomatic dialogue can persuade South Africa to live up to its own high standards.

TV Would Erode Respect for Supreme Court

To the Editor:

At one time, I agreed with your Jan. 16 editorial suggestion that the Supreme Court should open its proceedings to cameras. The quality of oral argument in that Court would surely promote greater understanding of the complex issues before it. The New Jersey Supreme Court has long since admitted cameras in the courtroom. Their presence is unintrusive and not at all distracting in almost every circumstance.

However, there is a significant difference between the New Jersey Supreme Court and the United States

Supreme Court. That Court must often decide the most profound issues that divide our nation. Only respect for the institution itself can sustain its authority.

The problem with television in the courtroom is that it would inevitably transform the members of the Court. They would attain the celebrity status that attends figures in our popular culture. Only in America does a defeated candidate for national office appear on television, within days of the election, selling airline tickets. It is the image of the public official that sells the product.

You contend that it is "backward" not to "demystify" the Court. There is a thin line between mystère and respect.

Justices of the Supreme Court can never become like the guests on the Sunday morning television talk shows. They are American icons of a different sort. Our respect for them must come from an understanding of their written words. That is the only source of their institutional authority.

DANIEL J. O'HEARN
Red Bank, N.J., Jan. 16, 1997
The writer is a justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court.

Don't Single Out Some for Drug Testing

To the Editor:

Georgia's right to require that candidates for high office undergo drug testing raises larger questions as to who and why any group should be singled out for such scrutiny ("Justices Question Georgia Law Requiring Drug Tests for State Candidates," news article, Jan. 15). As an airline pilot who flies cargo, I rankle at a policy that requires me, but not surgeons and judges, for example, to be randomly tested.

One would be hard pressed to find a profession with a lower incidence of hard-drug use, as the Federal Aviation Administration's own statistics bear out, yet the testing of pilots continues. Logic and fairness are not being examined, nor are the limits of the Fourth Amendment or even the public's welfare.

The Supreme Court should recuse itself from the obvious conflict of interest in this case. If Georgia's law



is upheld, what excuse would exist for not screening current or prospective Justices? DAVID O. HILL
Memphis, Jan. 16, 1997

No-Fault Divorce Has Damaged the Family

To the Editor:

I could not disagree more with Barbara Deafe Whitehead's assertions regarding the benefits of no-fault divorce (Op-Ed, Jan. 13). No-fault divorces have altered our concept of family from that of an institution benefiting all of its members into one that benefits adults only.

Many children who have endured painful divorces and the more painful after-effects would contest her belief that prolonged conflict is most damaging to children. This repeats the tired assertion that what is best for the parents is best for the children.

Ms. Whitehead notes that increased divorce rates have created "an expanding bureaucracy devoted to sorting out the obligations of post-divorce parenthood" while also arguing that divorce's damage to children can be addressed through "mediation, rather than litigation." This is simply a prescription for more bureaucracy, especially for those lower-income families who can afford neither.

Ms. Whitehead misgauges the condemnatory effect of proving fault. Contrary to the beliefs of those who created the no-fault divorce, the failure of marriages is often more one partner's fault than the other's. Forcing partners to prove this would vastly reduce the number of casual divorces, while emphasizing society's commitment to resolving marriage

problems first and leaving divorce as a last resort. BRENT D. RYAN
Brooklyn, Jan. 14, 1997

The Danger of Limits

To the Editor:

Americans seem to have a magical faith that change in law can engineer whatever new behavior is desired. The movement to limit divorce is a good example (Op-Ed, Jan. 13).

Even before no-fault divorce was accepted, most couples agreed to divorce. In those rare instances when one spouse did not want a divorce, the judgment was made that if one partner had made a decision no longer to try to make the marriage work, reconciliation was not possible. Barring divorce in such instances could lead to higher levels of spousal violence and informal desertion.

It would be a bad idea to place limitations on no-fault divorce. Before divorce is permitted, procedures should be created so that spouses do not divorce before they have made a rational decision to do so. Abolishing no-fault divorce would have many costs. Not least would be requiring people to stay married to people they no longer respect or care for.

J. T. OLDFHAM
Houston, Jan. 15, 1997
The writer is a professor of law at the University of Houston.

For Serbs, Democracy Is Risky but Worthy

To the Editor:

Robert D. Kaplan (Op-Ed, Jan. 14) has succumbed to the insurmountable that his previous writing imposed on the Balkans. Only an obsession with order at any cost that sees dangerous anarchy lurking everywhere could fail to see the opposition protest in Belgrade as the most encouraging news to come from that city in more than a decade.

Mr. Kaplan argues that developments in Serbia will leave the United States no choice but to support less than savory nationalists should they come to power. Whatever the outcome in Belgrade, our support

should not be for particular strongmen but for the process of democracy itself. Mr. Kaplan's cultural determinism and "Ottoman legacies close to the Middle East" echo the demagoguery that led to bloodshed in the first place, which is what significant numbers of Serbs are rejecting in the streets.

Mr. Kaplan proposes that a benefit of Slobodan Milosevic's rule has been its capacity to restrain "Serbian warlords and the ethnic Albanian Muslims seeking independence." The nationalist opposition leaders, he correctly points out, are hardly standard-bearers of tolerance. Yet, he ignores that Vesna Pestic, a long-time human rights activist who is also leading the demonstrations, does not fit this mold.

Mr. Kaplan says that for the United States "to stick with Mr. Milosevic is not an option." Though correct, it contradicts his analysis, which weighs the lesser evil of a "Belgrade Tiananmen" against the unfeeling of murderous warlordism that would spread without Mr. Milosevic's restraining influence. This erroneous view of the options overshadows the most frightening possibility that Mr. Milosevic's rule might continue.

AMIR PASIC
Providence, R.I., Jan. 14, 1997
The writer is a postdoctoral fellow in international studies at Brown U.

Holocaust Asset Claims

To the Editor:

Your Jan. 15 front-page article disclosing a Swiss bank's attempt to destroy World War II-era documents underlines the necessity to obtain the names on the "dormant" Swiss accounts. With publication of a list of the names, the surviving family members would be able to identify and recover what their murdered relatives could not leave them by gift or will. The heirs would be required to document claims, just as they must do for land and property restitution. No privacy interest is served by continuing to hide the names on the accounts. Returning funds to the heirs of the original owners is not blackmail; it is a necessary first step in investigation of communal and private assets that should be returned.

MARIAN SCHEUER SOFAER
Palo Alto, Calif., Jan. 15, 1997
The writer is a lawyer who has handled restitution claims for property confiscated by the Nazis.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send by electronic mail to letters@nytimes.com, or by regular mail to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036-3959.

When White Men Sue, Rewards Are High

To the Editor:

In your Jan. 12 front-page article on the rising number of employment discrimination lawsuits, Edward E. Potter, the president of a business-supported employment policy think tank, explains the increase by complaining that "everybody but us white males has a protected classification." He ought to know better.

In the 1976 Santa Fe decision, the Supreme Court held that Federal law prohibits race discrimination against whites and sex discrimination against men. White men have as much protection from discrimination as anyone else. They bring fewer race and sex discrimination cases than other groups. But in the area of age discrimination, white men file more cases than any other group. Not surprisingly, it is in this area that damage awards, from juries and judges alike, are the highest.

DAVID B. OPPENHEIMER
San Francisco, Jan. 13, 1997
The writer is an associate professor of law at Golden Gate University.

Affirmative Action

To the Editor:

A Jan. 16 news article reports the formation of a nationwide anti-affirmative action group by those who persuaded California voters to abolish preferences in hiring, contracting and college admissions. You quote Ward Connerly, the head of the new American Civil Rights Institute, as saying that "there is no public policy which has greater potential to rip the fabric of American democracy than affirmative action."

By contrast, you quote Wade Henderson, a Washington-based civil rights leader, as saying that the Institute "won't get very high priority here, particularly after the discrimination that has recently been turned up at places like Texaco." Such remarks are typical of the kid-glove treatment expected by many affirmative action advocates.

In the Texaco case, black employees received raises that brought them to salary equality with their white counterparts. To Mr. Henderson this might sound fair, but would it sound fair to Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, who in their book, "The Bell Curve," show that income equality already exists in corporate America if the determining factor is I.Q., not race? CARL SEMENIC
West Hempstead, L.I., Jan. 16, 1997

Europe's Social Net

To the Editor:

A Jan. 13 news analysis on the shift toward self-reliance in the welfare system quotes a Harvard economist as saying that America is "growing up" and we are getting out of the European mode, which is more the welfare state." But this ignores an essential aspect of the Western and Northern European welfare states, as is often the case in American analyses.

The European welfare state is not only and not even in the first place about giving away money to people who have fallen behind. It is about creating a public space shared by high-income and low-income people: amenities like schools, universities, hospitals, parks, low-cost transportation and swimming pools. That is why France, for instance, spends four times as much per capita on its infrastructure as our Federal and state governments combined.

The well-to-do get more out of this than the poor, for they live longer, take better care of themselves, send their children to universities, use the libraries more and so forth. The resulting social climate is less aggressive and more pleasant, and the quality of life for everyone is improved.

Admittedly, this lessens the enterprising spirit such as we find in the United States, and as a result there is more unemployment and less wealth in absolute terms. However, I do not doubt that it creates more human happiness. HANS KONING
New York, Jan. 14, 1997

Death Penalty Disgust

To the Editor:

I can now define what causes that feeling of loathing in my chest while reading articles like the transcript of the death-watch logs kept by prison guards in Arkansas (Week in Review, Jan. 12) and other reports of executions in your pages. It is the absence of humanity evidenced by all participants: the lack of humanity shown both by the murderer toward his victim and by the state toward its inmate. LENA HOLUB
New York, Jan. 13, 1997

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Please Stop Thinking About Tomorrow

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Please Stop Thinking About Tomorrow

By Richard Norton Smith

The President approached his second inauguration with a chip on his shoulder. His volcanic temper — according to his personal secretary, no sound on earth compared to that of the President of the United States swearing a blue streak — had been severely tried by press attacks alleging undue influence in his Administration by foreign interests. It was a resentful chief executive who repeated his oath of office, delivered an address of 135 words and took his leave, no doubt consoling himself with the thought that republicans are notoriously ungrateful.

Of all the precedents established by George Washington, it is safe to say that this is one Bill Clinton will not emulate tomorrow as he stands on the East Front of the Capitol whose cornerstone Washington laid more than two centuries ago. On the surface, Mr. Clinton's America bears little resemblance to the patchwork puzzle of former colonies bonded by Washington's prestige and an untested Constitution. The United States in 1789 counted fewer people than Los Angeles does today. The President employed more people at Mount Vernon than he did in the entire executive branch.

And yet... among Washington's most contemporary, and least welcome, historical legacies is the second-term jinx. His final years in office marked by loss and disillusionment, Washington endured savage criticism of his judgment and even patriotism. But if Washington's second term was unhappy, it was also heroic. Today, our first President may inspire more awe than affection among his countrymen, to whom he reappears each February to sell appliances and used cars, the ultimate Dead White Male. Yet we still revere Washington for the personal sacrifice he made in allowing his cherished reputation to be shredded by the very forces of liberty he had set in motion.

Politics is theater, and Washington was our first actor-President. Ever since, playing to history has been an occupational hazard of second-term Presidents. Having nothing else to run for, they campaign for a favorable judgment from historians. This overlooks the practical difficulty of simultaneously gratifying Clio and Dan Rather. As Washington learned from painful experience, short-term popularity is often the enemy of visionary leadership. Posterity demands more than the next news cycle.

In fact, any President who actively campaigns for his historical place is engaged in a self-defeating exercise. To begin with, the electorate is fickle. Presidential reputations bounce around like corn in a popper. Writing in last month's *American Heritage*, Richard Reeves conceded 20 years after the fact that he had been overly harsh in judging Gerald R. Ford. Today, the Helsinki Accords President Ford signed in August 1975 are viewed as an important milestone on the road to Communism's collapse. Even Mr. Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon, once as controversial as Harry Truman's

Richard Norton Smith is a historian and former speechwriter for Bob Dole. His book "Patriarch: George Washington and the New American Nation" is being published this month in paperback.



Richard McGuire

sacking of Douglas MacArthur, is seen in retrospect as a painful necessity.

History rewards the risk takers. Only those Presidents who are willing to lose for the sake of principle, it suggests, rank among the immortals. In Naftali, the successful Mexican bailout and his ongoing efforts to remake the Democratic Party in a more centrist image, Bill Clinton can justifiably claim to have broken with the past in ways that help his cautious reputation.

Clinton can ignore the historians in the gallery.

For one who talks so much about the future, Mr. Clinton displays an unusual interest in the past. Among his predecessors, the President is said to be particularly enamored of Theodore Roosevelt, a towering figure who achieved greatness despite the absence of war.

But the office that T.R. reshaped at the beginning of the century bears scant resemblance to the one Mr. Clinton occupies at its end. Forces unique to his time conspired to shift authority and visibility from Congress to the Roosevelt White House. As America became a reluctant world power and the emerging mass media focused attention on the irrepresible President and his no less entertaining family, T.R. was able to convert the Presidency from an administrative voice into a virtual cult of personality.

The bully pulpit that he and later historians would celebrate was taken to new heights by his cousin Franklin, who unabashedly announced his intention to be a "preacher President," like the swashbuckling T.R.

The second Roosevelt was a great centralizer as well as moralizer. In the cauldron of the Depression and world war, he forged a new model of Presidential leadership, to which most historians still subscribe.

The concentration of so much power inevitably led to his abuse, as I have had occasion to discover in researching a forthcoming biography of Col. Robert R. McCormick, whose Chicago Tribune was among the President's most vituperative critics. In the spring of 1942, Roosevelt dispatched F.B.I. agents to pressure editors around the country into giving an Associated Press franchise to the new Chicago Sun, owned by Marshall Field, his Chicago political supporter. After the Battle of Midway, Roosevelt toyed with the idea of sending marines to silence the offending Tribune presses.

Ironically, it was Republican Presidents Nixon and Reagan against whom the charge of fostering a so-called imperial Presidency was first leveled. In fact, Mr. Reagan turned the academic model on its head, using the very tools of Presidential persuasion fashioned by his boyhood hero F.D.R. to reverse a half-century during which power was centralized in Washington. Today, Bill Clinton governs in Mr. Reagan's shadow, his natural activism bedged by the anti-government consensus which is the Reagan legacy.

Meanwhile, T.R.'s hully pulpit has lost much of its power to move and inspire, just as the Presidency itself has been diminished by the end of the cold war, the rebirth of federalism and media overexposure, which makes any President a victim of the electronic choir to which he is preaching.

By definition, a pulpit affords a stage for moral leadership. And while it is unlikely that the V-chip and school uniforms will earn historical applause on a level with Lyndon Johnson's summons to racial justice, or Woodrow Wilson's calls for national self-determination, this does not

mean that Mr. Clinton lacks for issues with which to achieve historical significance.

Reforming entitlements, balancing the budget, draining the campaign finance swamp and making good on his pledge to find humane alternatives to creaking government institutions: The opportunities to lead sloop around Mr. Clinton's head like barn swallows.

But to realize his promise, the President must look beyond the permanent campaign with which he and other modern chief executives have surrounded themselves, and which adds yet another layer of artifice and calculation to an office whose moral authority has already been eroded by too many Rose Garden ceremonies, public relations gestures and cross spin doctors. Earlier in this century, Edmund Wilson declared that the biographer Carl Sandburg was the worst thing to happen to Abraham Lincoln since John Wilkes Booth. Wilson never met Dick Morris.

Let me suggest a pair of role models. Whatever their differences in temperament and ideology, both Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower knew their history — and themselves — well enough to let the chips fall where they might. Neither man tailored his actions to the historians in the gallery. Each had the confidence and the character to steer by the North Star of conviction.

As such, they were worthy successors to Washington. So forget the academic models, Mr. President. Discard the polling data. Cashier the consultants. Follow your instincts, apply your considerable intelligence and awesome political skills. In the history books, virtue can be its own reward. "Don't Stop Thinking About Tomorrow" made a great campaign song. But it's unlikely to stand the test of time.

Liberties MAUREEN DOWD

Stolen Moments

WASHINGTON
Just when you think Bill and Newt will congeal into one big, depressing, gelatinous glob of smarmy behavior, just when you think the aroma of mendacity and hypocrisy spreading from the Supreme Court to Capitol Hill to the White House will spoil the inaugural, just when you think the whole system will crash down because the public is inured to everyone talking high and acting low, you get a moment.

Not a "defining moment" either. "The defining moment" is an illusion perpetrated by politics and television to make something passing seem like something lasting. In fact, politics is just one passing moment after the other. And the nice thing about all these moments, at least for the politicians, is that they make it possible to escape definition.

There are no contradictions anymore. There are only lofty moments followed by sordid moments, moments of pleasing one group, followed by moments of pleasing another group. And that is what is known as "the vital center."

Consider Friday's Gingrich moment. He topped his own peerless record forchutzpah when he went before a Republican meeting to talk about how America must reach out for moral purpose and godliness, even as the House ethics subcommittee leveled the scorching judgment that Mr. Gingrich had spent years showing "disregard" for standards of conduct — including flouting his agreement with the subcommittee not to orchestrate a counterattack that would safeguard his re-election as Speaker. His allies risibly characterized the Speaker's harsh \$300,000 penalty as just a "cost assessment."

Consider the Clinton moment: With his best misty look, the President presided over lovely ceremonies honoring black soldiers from World War II and the World War I veteran he defeated in '96. But then he dispatched an aide to whine to *The Washington Times* that he felt "used" by his friends, John Huang and Charles Yah Lin Trie, in their zealous attempt to get the money he needed for re-election. "He feels it was like, 'This is my home and they took advantage of my hospitality,'" said White House press secretary Michael McCurry. Once again, Bill Clinton was the victim of his own machinations and then cried victimization.

Finally there was the Dole moment, especially poignant in the

midst of this self-consciously noble Renaissance Weekend (excuse me, Reformation Weekend) of an inaugural, featuring "intellectuals" and celebrities having "empowerment dialogues" on the Mall.

Accepting the Medal of Freedom, Bob Dole was funny and moving. He talked about honor in politics, about aiming for the kind of courage it took to push the Civil Rights Act.

Afterward, I called Mr. Dole, wistful to hear his "himmys" and "I dunnoos." I wanted to tell him that my "Dole for President" luggage tags have become chic now. He still works at his campaign headquarters, calling children who write to him, particularly those with disabilities. He did not want to talk specifically about ClintonGingrich. (No doubt relieved

The Reformation inauguration.

that it's no longer DoleGingrich.) But he did want his speech to point up from the muck. "I thought, this may be my last opportunity in such a setting to say anything. I wanted to remind people, with all the turmoil around, keep your eye on the big picture. It's wrenching. But we'll work our way through it. It's out what America is all about."

After his breezy appearances on comedy shows and in ads — asked if he will give the money from his Visa Super Bowl commercial to charity, he replied, "Partly!" — Mr. Dole was deluged. "Oughta see the mail saying 'Geez, why weren't you like that in the campaign?' Couldn't be too irreverent in a campaign. Got to stay on message. Not too good at that. Think we had a message. Jiminy, I was trying to tell people that's who Bob Dole really is."

I told him about the plywood Clinton-Gore Bridge to the Future erected for the inaugural. "I don't want to walk on it," he cracked.

But he's made peace with the President he once scorned. He sent, under his Schnauzer Leader's name, a Christmas stocking to Socks with camp and a golf ball. Mr. Clinton sent back a thank you note that read: "If a dog can reach out to a cat, who knows what wonders of cooperation this new year can work!" It was a moment.

Foreign Affairs THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

The Unsilent Majority

When you stop and think about it, the fact that the Israeli parliament voted 87 to 17 to carry out the Hebron withdrawal and further redeployments in the West Bank is an amazing political event. That is a 5-to-1 margin. Israelis don't agree on anything by 5 to 1. They couldn't agree that the sun rises in the east by 5 to 1.

The fact that their lawmakers voted to get out of Hebron by that margin — despite a Likud Government that came into office only seven months ago looking to avoid such a deal — underscores the degree to which this process is now being driven in Israel by a silent majority that wants to keep

relations or to really crack down on Palestinian terrorists — unless they start to outpace a domestic constituency for the relationship with Israel.

"For years now the Arabs have made peace with Israel have wanted the fruits of peace without the obligations of peace and without the relationships that peace mandated," said Middle East expert Stephen P. Cohen. "As long as Israel seemed divided and ambivalent on the land for peace question, Arab leaders had an excuse for not going ahead with all the relations. But with Israel now clearly committed to trading land for peace on the West Bank, the Arab leaders will have to put up or shut up."

In the past, they moved ahead with Israel by shutting up their people. But I don't think they can move ahead, even on the minimum demands Israel wants, without putting up their people — without involving them more in this process. It will start with the business community, but it will have to go well beyond that to the intelligentsia, media and academia."

The Arabs should notice something here. Netanyahu has done a huge act of Sadat-like significance, but neither the Israeli press, nor world press, has given him Sadat-like heroic accolades. Why not? Because both Sadat and Netanyahu acted out of necessity, but Sadat transformed necessity into an opportunity for statesmanship and that gave him his emotional force. Netanyahu, in contrast, has portrayed his actions as they-made-me-do-it — the previous Government, public opinion, the Americans made me do it. He has not conveyed any sense that he acted because he wanted to act, and therefore he still doesn't seem in control of the process. The Israeli people still seem in control, and that's the Arabs' opportunity.

The Israeli people did something very hard in forcing this agreement. They overlooked a terrible year and they compelled the Likud to break with fundamental tenets of its ideology. If the Arabs — Egypt, Syria, Jordan, the Palestinians — did something hard now themselves, something out of the ordinary, something that really challenged the ambivalence of their own societies about peace with Israel, I believe, over time, the Israeli public would respond again by doing the last two hard things the Arabs want most — establishing a Palestinian state and making a credible offer to Syria on the Golan Heights. Will the Arabs step up to it, or is the old Arab politics still the only Arab politics?

Do they have an Arab partner?

Oslo moving forward. This agreement was pushed from the bottom up, not the top down. But that sends an important message to the Arabs: Israel is not divided 50-50 on the peace process. There's now a solid center committed to Oslo and the principle of trading land for peace in the West Bank.

The only question in Israel now is how much land, and the only ones who can answer that question are the Arabs, by making clear how much peace.

Interestingly, Israelis have downgraded their expectations even on the amount of peace. It has been a terrible year for Israel. Assassination, suicide bombs, street fights with Palestinian police over the Jerusalem tunnel. Yet, the Israeli parliament overwhelmingly approved this deal. It's because the Israeli public is no longer seeking an epic, romantic peace, but rather the peace of let-me-alone. It is seeking the lowest-common-denominator peace. It's the peace that says: "Just give me real security, basic trade, tourism and formal diplomatic relations, and I'll get out of your hair and you get out of mine."

But here's the question: Can the Arabs provide even that lowest-common-denominator peace? Now that the Israeli public has forced a consensus on land for peace from the bottom up, the Arabs are going to have to force a consensus on this issue in their countries from the top down. Because Yasir Arafat, King Hussein and Hosni Mubarak will not be able to meet their minimum obligations vis-à-vis Israel — whether it's to really normalize

Netanyahu Does the Politic Thing

By Ze'ev Chafets

JERUSALEM — Since Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu took office more than six months ago, his true identity has been the subject of intense speculation.

Is he the uninhibited superhawk who led wild street demonstrations the Oslo accords two years ago, we have wondered, or is he the statesman who pledged on the campaign trail to honor that agreement? Is he a true believer in Jewish nationalism from the Jordan River, or is he a pragmatist with a knack for fooling the masses with hard-line rhetoric?

Well, we now know. By signing the Hebron agreement and ramming it through his very reluctant Cabinet, the real Bibi Netanyahu finally stood up. He is (his own disingenuous disclaimer notwithstanding) a man of

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the center, a dove in hawk's plumage. To say yes to Hebron, Mr. Netanyahu had to jettison 50 years of revisionist orthodoxy about the indivisibility of the Land of Israel. He had to renounce his own previous writings and speeches, to break ideologically with the father he venerates, to alienate the West Bank settlers who helped elect him and to infuriate many in his Likud Party.

He is also risking his life. On Thursday, when the Knesset voted to accept the agreement, graffiti saying "Netanyahu is a traitor" appeared on the walls of buildings around the country. As the Shin Bet security service is keenly aware, similar graffiti preceded the murder of Yitzhak Rabin.

Why has Mr. Netanyahu moved away from his longtime not-one-inch position? The least compelling explanation is that he buckled under American pressure. That pressure has been constant but far from brutal, certainly nothing compared to what his Likud predecessors, Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, experienced.

Nor is it likely that he was inspired by a sudden conversion to the Labor Party's view that it is morally wrong for Israel to go on ruling Palestinians and that ending the occupation will usher in a New Middle East. It seems

much more likely that the real reasons for the Prime Minister's hunch to the center are political and personal.

The vast majority of Israelis, including Likudniks, want peace and are ready to give away territory to get it. Many voted for Mr. Netanyahu

The Hebron deal resolves a conflict.

in 1996 out of party loyalty, or because his opponent, Shimon Peres, was an unelectable candidate. But Mr. Netanyahu cannot be re-elected as an avatar of Greater Israel; there aren't enough votes in it. He was smart enough to figure this out early, and swallow enough to transform himself into a land-for-peacenik without undue ideological agonizing.

At 48, Mr. Netanyahu is a young man (by Israeli political standards) with immense ambitions and a sense of personal greatness exaggerated even for a politician. The people whose opinion he cares for — here

and abroad, today and in historical retrospect — are not the rock-worshipping West Bank rabbis and their fundamentalist followers or the aging Beginistas of his party. Mr. Netanyahu cannot be a world figure and a Zionist firebrand at the same time; nor can he govern effectively without the respect of the moderate Israeli elite. Everything he wants — votes, power and a place in history — is in the center.

Knowing who Mr. Netanyahu really is will make life less stressful for all of us. We no longer have to worry that he will risk war for the sake of Jewish "holy places." Nor will he likely stonewall us into international pariah status over the hard decisions ahead: surrendering most of the Golan Heights, withdrawing troops from southern Lebanon, agreeing to a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza and even allowing some sort of Arab political control in East Jerusalem.

Some people may regard such compromise as selling out. Most Israelis see it differently. It is reassuring to discover that behind the rhetorical fire and brimstone, our Prime Minister is just a politician for whom nothing, save his own self-interest, is sacred.

THEATER

Donal McCann: A Great Actor's Dramatic Challenge

By BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

HOW best to describe that bleak, bunched figure, with his gray-pumice face, scraped head and black, staring eyes? The London reviewers were variously reminded of the mad King Lear cowering in his hovel during the storm, of Samuel Beckett's derelicts babbling out their tales of suffering, of some ascetic medieval martyr, of the stripped and beaten Jesus and of the grisly lumps of bare human flesh that Lucian Freud likes to paint.

But on another question their critical consensus was absolute. Seldom has there been acclaim so universal as there was for the Irish actor Donal McCann when he arrived in 1995 at the Royal Court Theater in London in "The Steward of Christendom," a play that opened yesterday at the Brooklyn Academy of Music's Majestic Theater.

Donal who? In his own country, Mr. McCann, at 53, is widely regarded as the finest actor of them all. In the words of the influential critic and columnist Fintan O'Toole, he achieves "unutterable greatness" in the play as Thomas Dunne, the Roman Catholic who was chief superintendent of the Dublin police while Ireland lurched toward independence from Britain and then into civil war.

But during his long career, Mr. McCann has appeared surprisingly seldom in England and still less often in America. Maybe you saw

language, the characterization and, not least, the character's background.

Soon after, Mr. Barry, the author, picked up the phone to hear a strange voice at the other end growl: "Why have you been robbing my childhood?" It was not a madman but Mr. McCann paying him a compliment.

Offstage, in the bustling dining room of the Gresham Hotel in Dublin, where part of "The Dead" was filmed, Mr. McCann recollected the call: "I thought Sebastian had stolen part of me because Dunne's memories of being in the country were so real. I could see it and smell it. I used to go away for the summer to where my mother's family had this tiny farm. And I knew where the character was coming from."

In his rumpled gray jacket and drab open-necked shirt, the actor looks like what he actually is: a fellow who enjoys regular trips to the betting shop, drops the odd four-letter word and admits to having been "a notorious drinker" before he gave up alcohol a few years ago. He sips mineral water, smokes when he isn't eating and talks about acting with no hint of the pretension that sometimes afflicts lesser talents.

He did not prepare for "The Steward of Christendom" by doing masses of research into Irish history or by "worrying about what shoes I might wear" but by borrowing Brian Friel's cottage in Donegal and immersing himself in the text. "My method? Read, read, read, read, read. Trust the play. Everything is there in what's on the page, though you must try and find what's behind the words too. With 'The Steward,' I found myself discovering new things the 20th time I read it." Add a belief in coming to the rehearsal room open-minded and painstakingly testing whatever ideas his director and fellow actors throw at him, and you have the essence of an approach that has brought Mr. McCann success in plays ranging from Strindberg's "Miss Julie" to Thomas Babe's "Prayer for My Daughter."

Even rehearsals for 'The Steward of Christendom' were tough, admits Ireland's stage sovereign.

him as the anguished husband in John Huston's last movie "The Dead," or as the Irish sculptor in Bernardo Bertolucci's recent "Stealing Beauty," or perhaps as the alcoholic father in Neil Jordan's film "The Miracle." But you would barely have had time to blink had you caught him on his last New York visit, for Brian Friel's "Wonderful Tennessee" collapsed almost as soon as it opened in 1993 on Broadway.

In that piece he brought a mix of toughness, cynicism and defeat to the role of a Dublin bookmaker with financial troubles, a suicidal wife and a sexual yearning for his sister-in-law. It was a complex, contradictory role, yet still not as emotionally challenging as the one he plays in Sebastian Barry's "Steward of Christendom." There, he is an old man desperately in search of the peace that has been fractured by the death of a son, the hostility of his daughters, and memories of the times he tried loyally to serve, first the British Crown, then the Irish Government of Michael Collins. The role requires that the performer be both a bag of decaying bones and a man in spiritual torment. He must, in effect, be a ghost haunting the catacombs of his own past.

Is there an actor anywhere in the British Isles better equipped than Mr. McCann to fulfill that job description? The director Max Stafford-Clark didn't think so when he cast the play two years ago. He believes that Mr. McCann "has a huge emotional range — not only access to emotions that English actors find very hard, but an enormous technique as well." Sent a script of the play while he was making a television film in Yorkshire, Mr. McCann devoured it at one sitting and, he says, fell in love with the

Benedict Nightingale is chief theater critic of The Times of London.



Donal McCann and Anjelica Huston in "The Dead" (1987)



Tina Kellegher and Donal McCann in "The Steward of Christendom" by Sebastian Barry.

Now there's a sentiment not often voiced by those networking in Beverly Hills. In fact, Mr. McCann has a strong if nondominant faith in a deity he believes gives him the will to get through tough evenings and demanding parts, like Dunne. "You lean on the play and you lean on God," he says, as naturally and unsanctimoniously as if he were talking of his agent or director.

He has also been described as having inner demons, a word he dislikes and shrugs off. Yet he does admit to having been subject to serious depression, and, as an actor, he often leaves you sensing something dark, deep and inscrutable behind that melancholy, creviced face.

The actress Sínead Cusack, who has known him since they appeared together as the juvenile leads in a pantomime in Gaelic, thinks that what makes him fascinating on stage is a mix of unpredictability and privacy. "He never, ever takes the safe route as an actor," said Ms. Cusack, who also appeared as Mr. McCann's wife in "Stealing Beauty" last summer. "At the same time, he draws you into his inner life and makes you want to know what it is but keeps you guessing. He never finally lets you into the secret of it all."

The playwright Mr. Barry prefers to talk of a mix of darkness and light, "a feeling of doom, yet also of delight in living," combined with a sense of danger. "I just pray Iraq doesn't get its hands on Donal," he said. "He has a sort of central nuclear core that sometimes seems barely damped down by his humanity."

Mr. McCann's father, John McCann, also combined force of personality with a reputation for integrity and humanity. He was a Member of Parliament, a Dublin councilor and a dramatist whose plays were regularly performed at the Abbey Theater. Donal secretly wanted a stage career, but "having seen the Abbey company from a young age, I felt I could never be as good as them." At school, though, he developed the persistence that marks the way he approaches roles today. "They were doing 'Hamlet,' and, having turned in a strong Malvolio the previous year, I went for it. I got the three LP's of Gielgud's 'Hamlet' and played them constantly. There was an Olivier season at a local cinema and I saw his 'Hamlet' several times. I got to know the play so well I could have produced, directed, lit it. Then the director explained that anybody could play Hamlet, but he needed a good character man, so I ended up doing a perfectly acceptable Polonius."

Mr. McCann became an apprentice journalist on a Dublin evening newspaper, but also took acting classes, did amateur theatricals and moonlighted as an extra at the Abbey. Indeed, he recalls once carrying a fat performer on a litter with the help of another young unknown, Stephen Rea. Then he was cast in a small speaking role, the cardinal of Uganda, in "The Successor," Rolf Hochhuth's play about a papal election. One of his false nostrils fell off, but his fake Oxbridge accent stayed intact, and he got a good review in his own paper. That was embarrassing, because his bosses had known nothing of his double life. But when the Abbey cast him in a leading part in one of his father's comedies — "I was appalling" — the editor released him from his apprenticeship.

By 1966 he was established as a member of the Abbey ensemble. In 1971 he was so powerful as the valet who seduced Helen Mirren's Miss

Julie that, when he faked chopping off her pet canary's head, a member of the first-night audience yelled, "That's bloody disgusting!" The same year he was on a British tour in "Waiting for Godot," a ghum, stolid but touchingly warm Estragon to the Vladimir of an actor he still hugely admires for his hard-working professionalism, Peter O'Toole.

That could be a description of Mr. McCann himself in "The Steward of Christendom." The title character is grueling to play, for he never leaves the stage — "and even King Lear gets the chance to put his feet up and have a smoke." Mr. McCann emerged from rehearsals he describes as "the toughest I can remember." From him that's quite an

admission, for he came to the role off an established reputation for relentlessly hard, slow, punctilious work. He isn't tolerant of directors who try to foist last-minute changes on him or of lazy fellow actors.

"He'll meet your lack of application with fury that's instant, ferocious, awful, nuclear," said Mr. Barry. "But he is also capable of great kindness and tenderness. He'll help and support someone he might have excooriated a week before."

The results speak for themselves. Take the itinerant Irish shaman he played in Brian Friel's "Faith Healer" in 1992 and later brought to the Long Wharf Theater in New Haven. "He caught the obsessive passion and frightening dispassion of the paid,

callousness and the profound spiritual meanness of a man capable of curing the sick yet destroying those closest to him. It was a performance as memorable for its long, haunted silences as for the grim and brooding words that came from behind the bealer's square jaw and mushroom face.

But then one of Mr. McCann's specialties is making quietness resonant. At the end of "The Steward of Christendom," Dunne is alone with his memories of his dead son. "I've never had the feeling before and I doubt if I'll have it again," Mr. McCann said. "The play has brought you to this wonderful conclusion of total silence, which is the purest form of theater in the world."

PRESIDENTIAL PUNDITRY

By BOB KLANN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- Mogul capital of India
- Pundit
- Dead duck
- Torne forte
- Dinner's often on him
- "Les Miz" setting
- 1836 battle site
- Like some traffic
- Movie about a boy's Presidential aspirations?
- Drusilla (mother of Tiberius)
- Trigger puller?
- Home of the Minotaur
- Tango maneuver
- Places for races
- 95-Down finisher
- Cause of inflation?
- Presidential biography by Noël Coward?
- Italian wine region
- Hall (historic Princeton site)
- Bank deposit
- Great time
- "That is to say ..."
- Stuffed shirt
- "Dirty Hands" playwright
- China setting
- Spruce
- Gulf
- Christie's "— M?"
- Country guitar player, e.g.
- At bat stat
- What the First Lady's critics did over a bottle of bathtub gin?
- Indianapolis's — Dome
- Cliff hanger?
- Renaissance van
- Skittish
- Dreamscape artist
- One of the Horae
- Current choice
- Exclusive
- Pickle flavoring
- Basketball maneuver
- Shelved for now
- Hollow
- Pizzazz
- Gained a lap
- Mathematical rules governing the Vice President's macarena?
- Hard-rock connection
- Turn into something big
- Memo starter
- Prominent tower
- Agonize
- Rec center
- At the scene
- 1894 Peace Nobelist
- Children's author
- 95 New Deal proj.
- Narrowly defeats
- S.A.T. score

DOWN

- Depth charge
- Extolment, in hymns
- Cowboys
- Be a partner in crime
- Obsolete goag. abbr.
- Like unkempt yards
- Stands by for
- "Aida" setting
- Returns home?
- Lively dance in duply time
- "Sleuth" co-star
- Old 45-Down kingdom
- Iago's wife
- Rake over the coals
- Arrive in droves
- Star of a sitcom in which the First Daughter learns syntax?
- Whitney Houston's record label
- Get, as a radio broadcast
- Prohibit
- One of Nintendo's Mario Brothers
- African antelope
- Detroit brew
- Scout
- Essex exclamation
- Kitchen fixture
- Comings and goings
- With a twist?
- Gallivant
- Basque, e.g.
- Where the President went without collecting \$200?
- Hitchcock classic
- Defiant words
- Overshadow
- Umbrella alternative
- Balmoral Castle river
- Where Gideon defeated the Midianites
- Off one's trolley
- Humbert Humbert's obsession
- 60's draft deferment category
- Vice President's wife at the Starlight Diner?
- Belfast grp.
- Baseball Hall-of-Famer Waite
- Basil's "Captain Blood" co-star
- Catch oo
- Pert
- Flood avoider
- Times rival
- Head and tail of the victorious First Cat?
- Avalok, for one
- Chihuahua bites
- Bye word
- Atlantic City attraction
- "Clueless" lead role
- Canyon?
- Skein game?
- Contemporary of Garbo
- Publicity
- Burns and Allen, e.g.
- Staff leaders
- Inc. listings
- "The Three Sisters" sister
- On the clothesline
- Moves like a comet
- Band command
- Purple shade
- Into the wind
- It's a wrap
- Not neat
- 60-Down's creator
- Show piece?
- Chipped
- Italian or Mexican, e.g.
- Rushing sound
- Terrorist tactic
- Coin of the realm
- Acress Jacqueline
- Sleuth lupin
- Attacks violently
- They're held for questioning
- Words of resignation
- Short dogs, for short
- 111' Cris
- Will
- Good name for a lawyer?

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

COULD DACHA OPERA HOSP
 GATED HIRAN STAFFS BELLS
 GLETER WINDS BOISE ABGE
 LACKED HADSD EXPERIENCE
 SRA NEETS BEVY ESTET
 COS ISERE DON STDS
 TRADEIN STOR FLEDE
 WARDONED CAPTAINIZED PAR
 NALS GOS AVAS ALLES PLUAV
 STABLE GOVY SPEND PROPP
 BARRERED COVY STIC COHAGE
 ENRAGED HIRAN HAI
 SCOURS FALLS SAAD HISEC
 BELIE TATEO ALIO HICONO
 TEL HARKED WYELFOHOTTOT
 ENUL HND TOSTE HEGE
 SONARA SEAT HEGHE CAS
 GOTTIEMSPUBLICAREGHEVY
 UNTIE MOATR ARECA SHRAE
 EDINA ALCOA PARTY SEHET
 SOAK WLEND AVISYS ETOLU

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What's an inauguration party without a little nosh?

The culinary habits of two American presidents seem to clash with the actual food people associate with them, writes Daniel Rogov

About two hours after Bill Clinton takes his oath of office today, 650 guests will celebrate at a meal designed not only to honor their newly reelected president but also the memory of Thomas Jefferson. The wines that will be served are from Virginia vineyards and the dishes are based on traditional American recipes from the early 19th century, the period during which Jefferson served as the third president of the US.

Knowledgeable culinary observers are laughing a little over all of this, since it is fairly well known that these wines and dishes are not especially to Clinton's taste, neither were they to Jefferson's.

The dining habits of Jefferson presented many Americans with a problem. Because Jefferson lived in Paris between 1785 and 1798, he developed a passion for French gourmet cooking that was so great that he returned home with two French chefs, Etienne Lemaire and Julien Gascoigne.

Even though foreign diplomats enjoyed dining with Jefferson, many local politicians felt that their president's tastes were scandalous. So much did Jefferson disdain the

developing American cuisine that one congressman actually denounced the president as a "man unfaithful to the food of his native land."

As to wine, Jefferson was undoubtedly one of America's first wine snobs. Believing that America could one day make wines "doubtless as good as those of Europe," Jefferson even tried planting European vines on his estate at Monticello. Unfortunately, the combination of cold winters and summer rot plagued his attempts and by his own admission his wines were "far from noble attempts."

Jefferson himself purchased only fine French wines. Historians argue about whether he kept 5,000 or 8,000 bottles in his cellar but all agree that not one of those bottles contained wine that had been produced in the US.

Bill Clinton's tastes are so eclectic that even today many Americans have not decided whether they approve of his dining habits. To his credit, Clinton enjoys dining in good - but not overly expensive - Italian, French, Mexican and Greek restaurants. He enjoys simple Chinese dishes such



as egg rolls, sweet and sour pork and Peking duck, and likes the Cajun and Creole cooking of New Orleans. He is also devoted to fried

chicken, chile con carne, pizza and hot pastrami sandwiches. That a modern American president enjoys hamburgers is under-

standable, but that he still occasionally wanders into McDonald's and that his favorite snack seems to be chips sprinkled heavily with salt

and then dipped in ketchup is a source of concern to some culinary observers. Close runners-up for the presi-

dent's favorite food seem to be Mexican tamales filled with chopped beef with a sauce based on tomatoes and chili peppers, and giant-sized tuna-fish sandwiches on white bread. As to wine, Clinton shows a marked leaning towards the reds and whites of California.

Whatever the personal tastes of either of the presidents being honored, both wines being served at today's meal come from Virginia's Prince Michel Wineries.

The wine accompanying the seafood pie will be the winery's 1995 Chardonnay, a wine surprisingly good considering that it comes from a state that is yet to produce its first truly serious wine.

The wine to be served with the "colonial beef" is the winery's 1989 Le Ducq. When I sampled this Bordeaux-style red wine two years ago, I noted with some humor in my tasting diary that I found its flavor and bouquet "as unusual as its spelling."

To be fair, the meal promises to be delicious and Virginia wines are definitely on the way up in quality.

Closer to home, those who would like to see one of Thomas Jefferson's favorite wines need only dine at Mishkenot Sha'ananim, where the incomparable wine cellar contains a bottle of 1789 Chateau Margaux that owner Moise Pe'er purchased at auction several years ago.

That the wine was bottled during the year of the onset of the French Revolution and came from the private collection of Jefferson makes it, in Pe'er's mind, "the Van Gogh of all wines."

EARTHLY CONCERNS

Fear of 'super germs' leads to ban of antibiotic

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL

Less than a month ago the European Commission moved to ban the use of a drug widely given to farm animals. The EC asked members of the European Union to ban the use of avoparcin, a broad-spectrum antibiotic given almost routinely to protect livestock from infections and thus promote faster growth.

The proposed ban came in response to growing fears that the constant use of this antibiotic may produce antibiotic strains of bacteria thus releasing an invasion of "super germs" that might infect both livestock and, eventually, humans. This last fear is supported by the fact that avoparcin is closely related to another drug, vancomycin, used in human treatment and considered the last line of defense in infections caused by such killer bacteria as methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus* - the most widespread of the "hospital infections."

Although avoparcin has been used in Europe for more than three decades, both Germany and Denmark banned the use of the antibiotic more than a year ago when their own microbiologists warned that continued use might unleash an epidemic that could not be controlled.

This latest move therefore comes as no surprise to many in the scientific community because the use of antibiotics in meat- and milk-producing animals is so widespread that it is classed as "routine prevention and treatment." Cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and poultry are dosed with a wide range of bacteria-inhibiting drugs from penicillin and on through a spectrum of mycins and cyclines. In many herds and flocks, local bacterial strains have already become resistant to some of these antibiotics and in some cases, due to similar

structures, to entire groups of them. This has led the farmers to use drugs or cocktails of drugs with broader and broader spectrums of activity.

These resistant pathogens are often the same ones that also infect humans so that infections of staphylococcus, streptococcus, E. coli and others are becoming harder and harder to treat in animals and humans alike. In addition, not only may the resistant bacteria find their way into the human population, in many cases traces of the antibiotics themselves enter our own food chain.

Although here in Israel, as in all other Western countries, there are strict rules about how much time must elapse between the administration of a drug to animals before it can be sold for meat or its milk marketed, it is, in reality, difficult to monitor this and all too often farmers fail to abide by these guidelines and much meat and milk is sold while the animals are under active treatment.

Monitoring, at its best, amounts to no more than random samplings and this means that a farmer, even one producing tons of meat, poultry or milk, might well break the law and mark his products falsely and never have this fact detected.

Another case for increased concern is the illegal use of hormones in pond fish and poultry. Here again the animals reaching the market may contain unacceptable amounts of growth hormones, sex hormones and steroids that can in some cases have deleterious effects on the consumers of their products.

This most recent move on the part of the European Union is just the first in a number of actions necessary for the protection of the consumer. It will no doubt have a future and dramatic effect not only on the member states of the EU but on all other states that wish to trade with them.

LAW REPORT

What is 'forcible entry' in an insurance policy?

By ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Civil Appeals, before Justices Gavriel Bach, Mishael Cheshin, and Ya'acov Kedmi, in the matter of Beit Haknesset Ramat Gan, appellants, versus Sahar Insurance Company Ltd., respondent (A.L.A.3128/94).

Under the Ramat Gan Synagogue's insurance policy with Sahar, compensation for theft or attempted theft was payable if the premises were entered on the conditions, inter alia, that the entry or leaving was "forcible, and there were signs of force."

Thieves entered the building by climbing over one of the walls and going through an unlocked window. On the outside of the wall, under the window, were signs of mud.

The synagogue claimed compensation in the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court, but the claim was dismissed. The court held there was no proof that the window was locked or closed, and even if the climbing over the wall could be regarded as "force," it was no part of the actual entry. It also held that the mud on the wall was not a sign of the use of force.

An appeal to the District Court also failed, the majority accepting the magistrate's findings. However, the minority judge held that the object of the policy's requirements was that the entry should be unlawful. The use of force, she held, was proved, as distinguished, for example, from entering with a key. The synagogue then appealed to the Supreme Court.

JUSTICE BACH, delivering the first judgment, said two questions arose: was

the climbing over the wall "force" within the meaning of the policy, and were the signs of mud sufficient support for a finding that force was used. Both questions, he stressed, had to be answered positively.

He then reviewed several Israeli and other precedents and authorities dealing with the construction of insurance policies, drawing attention firstly to the distinction between "forcible" and "forcible and violent" entry to premises. He rejected the view sometimes expressed that these two phrases really meant the same thing.

Citing, inter alia, opinions of the famous English judges Lords Russell and Atkin, he held that violence was to be distinguished from "stealth"; entering by turning a skeleton key was using force and stealth, but not violence. The force could be minimal such as turning a key or door handle, the degree of force being irrelevant. Violence meant the addition of some physical act "violent in its nature or character."

He also mentioned two factors taken into account by some American courts in interpreting policies: the reasonable expectations of the insured and intended beneficiaries, and the doctrine of "unconscionability" entitling the court to disregard unfair or unethical terms in the policy.

He then laid down rules for interpreting policies. Where a clause was ambiguous, it was to be construed against the draftsman - namely, in almost every case against the insurer. If there was doubt, it was to be interpreted in favor of the insured. Where the clause was ambiguous or absurd, he would also apply the two American tests mentioned above. He added that the above rules had in fact been applied consistently to some extent by Israeli courts.

In the present case he was satisfied the forcible entry to the premises had been proved. He was prepared to accept the proposition that a forcible entry involved a certain amount of force, and entry in an unusual way. Climbing up the wall involved force, and it was certainly an unusual way of entering a building. The climbing was, in his view, part of the process of "entering."

He did not exclude the possibility of other interpretations, but in such a case the rules he enunciated above were to be applied. Any ambiguity, therefore, was to be resolved in the insured's favor. Moreover, the insured could reasonably expect that the policy, as drafted, would cover its loss in the circumstances proved.

Sahar had submitted that the clause in question was purposely included in the policy to encourage the insured to take proper precautions against theft. If that were so, the remedy was in the insurer's hands to draft another clause affording it the protection it sought. He then emphasized that whatever form the clause would take, the insurance company was obliged to explain clearly to the insured, when the insurance was effected, what cover he would receive.

Since both questions posed by the clause considered had been answered in the positive, Justice Bach proposed that the appeal be allowed, the District Court judgment be set aside, the case be remitted to the Magistrates Court to assess the compensation payable to the synagogue under the policy, and Sahar be ordered to pay the appellant's costs in the sum of 15,000 NIS.

JUSTICE CHESHIN concurred. He first pointed out that insurance policies were, in general, standard contracts drafted by insurance companies, while

the insured had no say whatever as to their contents. The contracting parties, therefore, were not equal, the company usually being able to say take it, or leave it.

The courts were alive to this situation, and therefore created different techniques to overcome the injustice done. Through rules of interpretation, as explained by Justice Bach, the courts had found the way to achieve "elementary fairness." They developed the doctrine of "constructive ambiguity." This approach was not confined to insurance contracts, although it was usually applied to them.

In the present case he was convinced Justice Bach's ruling correctly upheld the terms of the policy. It was also to be remembered that a synagogue was not a commercial enterprise, and it was certainly within the normal expectations of such a voluntary body that it would be compensated for the loss.

JUSTICE KEDMI, agreeing with his colleagues, emphasized the voluntary character of a religious body such as a synagogue, as distinguished from a business. It was based on the contributions of its members, and its property belonged to them all.

It was quite clear, in his view, that such a body was reasonably entitled to expect that a loss from theft would be compensated under the policy. Indeed, in such circumstances the insurer should anticipate that the main risk would be his.

For the above reasons, the appeal was allowed as proposed by Justice Bach. Moshe Kaplansky appeared for the synagogue, and Yosef Renart appeared for Sahar.

The judgment was given on October 14, 1996.

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COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

Precious metals futures up slightly

Precious metals futures closed modestly higher on Friday in what sources said was a mostly featureless day with light volume. Gold futures were boosted by buy stops as well as short coverings.

February gold closed up \$1.40 at \$356.40. March silver closed up 3.2 cents \$4.772. April platinum closed up \$0.70 at \$365.20 and March palladium closed up \$0.50 at \$125.

Despite good fundamentals, high grade copper futures closed little changed as early modest gains were erased by the end of the session in what sources said was a generally slow day. Some before-the-weekend profit taking also was noted, with traders reluctant to stay long until today's open.

Sources dismissed the 7,025 metric ton increase in London Metal Exchange (LME) stocks. They noted that the increase was anticipated and that 3,475 metric tons of it occurred as copper moved from COMEX warehouses to LME warehouses in order to take advantage of the arbitrage.

The COMEX March high-grade copper futures closed up 5 points at \$1.0585.

Soybean futures closed steady to weaker, with the market rallying late on commercial buying as they followed soy meal. The commercial buying surprised a number of analysts who were looking for soybeans to be much weaker on Friday.

Overall, soybeans traded weaker, pressured by profit-taking over concerns heavy rainfall expected in Brazil would stabilize the soybean crop there. Pressure came from reports that Brazil is expected to produce a record soybean crop this year due to good weather. The March soybean futures contract closed unchanged at 7.4825.

New York cotton futures settled slightly lower on Friday on commercial trade and speculative selling, with some commercial trade buying in a quiet session. Pressure to the cotton market came from rising certified stocks and a decline of buying has led the cotton market to lower prices, analysts said.

Favorable weather conditions exist for the developing crop in northern Argentina and Paraguay. Cotton in Queensland, Australia, is experiencing mostly favorable weather for its early development, but it is too cool and damp for favorable development of cotton in central New South Wales. The March contract settled 13 points lower at 74.08.

New York March coffee futures settled higher on Friday on commercial trade and speculative buying, with some scale-up origin selling, according to a floor trader. A dock strike affecting the Colombian port of Buenaventura has reportedly been settled, but one analyst said he heard about an hour after Friday's close that the strike was continuing.

Favorable weather conditions exist for budding trees in Brazil and for the harvests in Central America, Colombia and Mexico. Mostly favorable conditions exist for the Vietnam harvest and for growing areas of the Ivory Coast and Indonesia. The March contract settled 95 points higher at \$1.2400.

Courtesy of Michael Zweber, CommStock Trading Ltd.

Italy sells 60% stake in Banco di Napoli

\$39m. deal involves largest bank in southern Italy

ROME (Reuters) - The Italian Treasury has accepted a joint bid by Banca Nazionale del Lavoro and insurer INA to take a 60 percent stake in struggling Banco di Napoli. Treasury Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi said on Saturday.

Recently privatized INA and Treasury-controlled BNL said they would pay 61.6 billion lire (\$39 million) for the majority holding in southern Italy's largest bank.

Italy placed Banco di Napoli on the market last October after organizing an initial salvage operation at the debt-stricken group. It received just two offers for the bank.

Ciampi said that the second bid from state-owned credit institute Mediocredito Centrale, was ruled inadmissible because it had asked for the sale conditions to be rewritten.

He told a news conference on Saturday he was disappointed that there had been so few bids, but said the INA/BNL deal was good news for both Banco di Napoli and the southern economy.

"We have now passed from thinking about a salvage plan to thinking about a relaunch for the bank," he said.

Italy's center-left government stepped in to save Banco di Napoli last year after the group announced record losses of 3.12 trillion lire for 1995.

In a fight to stave off bankruptcy, the Treasury launched a two-trillion lire capital increase last December and set up a so-called bad bank to take on some 12.36 trillion lire of the group's non-performing loans.

BNL and INA will have to cover Banco Napoli's 1996 losses, which analysts believe will hit 1.7 trillion lire, and Ciampi indicated that the companies had ambitious plans for the bank.

"They are committed to boosting [Banco Napoli's] asset base by much more than is needed to simply comply with asset ratio requirements," Ciampi said.

He added that a possible fusio between BNL, which itself has only recently emerged from a government bail-out, and Banco di Napoli, had not been ruled out.

INA said last month that if its bid for Banco di Napoli was successful it would take 51 percent of the firm and BNL 49 percent. In a statement on Saturday the insurer said that the acquisition would have a neutral impact on its 1997 results and should enhance profits in 1998.

The 61.6 billion lire price tag barely starts to cover government costs at bailing out the bank, but Ciampi said it reflected the reality of the situation.

"The price...has taken into account the

structural difficulties of the southern economy and, the consequent high risk involved with credit activities in the region," he said.

Banco di Napoli has blamed the downturn in the underdeveloped south of Italy for its slump in results, but analysts say poor management exacerbated the problem.

Before the Treasury stepped in, the long-established bank was controlled by local authorities whose loan policies were often driven more by politics than by economics. The bank is mulling whether to sue previous directors.

The government originally planned to sell-off Banco di Napoli at the end of 1997 but was forced to move early by the European Union. The INA/BNL victory had been widely predicted and condemned by some commentators as a simple sleight of hand, with the southern bank remaining firmly in state hands.

But Ciampi told reporters the government was committed to its privatization program and added that he wanted to sell-off BNL by the end of the century. The remaining 40 percent stake in Banco Napoli would also be sold as soon as possible.

"The Treasury will be happy the day when it can call a news conference to say that it has sold everything," he said.

Shares rise to 37-month high

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

ROBERT DANIEL



Two-Sided Index

Maof Index

Stocks advanced for a third day, sending the Maof Index to near a 37-month high, as investors were heartened by the Hebron agreement.

Leading shares upward were Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd., up 5 percent at NIS 18.12 and Industrial Buildings Corp., adding the daily limit of 10% to NIS 5.12.

Makhteshim Chemical Works Ltd. and Agan Chemical Manufacturers Ltd. climbed 3% and 2.5% to NIS 17.11 and NIS 70.2 respectively, and holding company Elbit Ltd., was up 3% at NIS 9.13.

The Two-Sided Index advanced 1.53% to 242.79, while the Maof Index added 1.31% to 251.38. The Maof last closed at this level on December 26, 1993, when it finished at 251.62.

Across the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, NIS 193.9 million of shares traded, 17% above the month's daily average of NIS 166m. Nearly four issues advanced for every one that declined.

Bank Leumi was the most active issue, rising 2% to 5.25 on NIS 11.2m. of shares traded.

Teva shares climbed after its American depositary receipts traded on Wall Street rose 7.1% on Thursday and Friday. The last day of Wall Street trading to affect the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange is Wednesday.

Industrial Buildings shares advanced as the company was reiterated "buy" at UBS Global Research by analyst Daniel Curasco.

Losers included Elron Electronic Industries Ltd., down 3.25% to 39.61 after its shares traded on Wall

Street fell 2% and Bezeq, which shed 1.25% to 8.52.

"Local investors are moving from cash and bond funds," that aren't linked to the consumer price index "into equities," said Ron Weisberg, analyst at Israel Brokerage and Investments. That's because "interest rates are going down and the stock market has been reacting well these past couple of months."

Koor subsidiary Tadiran Ltd. eased 1.25% to NIS 95.59. Among the other chemical companies, Dead Sea Works moved up 0.5% to NIS 9.3 and Bromine was unchanged at NIS 16.94.

Elco Holdings eased 0.25% to NIS 24.69. Supercol eased 1.25% to 8.83.

Within the Clal group, parent Clal Israel Series 1 rose 1% to 1.01, Clal Industries rose 1.5% to 17.07 and Clal Electronics was unchanged at 403.11.

Bank Hapoalim and Discount Bank each gained 1.5% to NIS 6.15 and NIS 3.85 respectively. First International Bank Series 5 added 0.75%.

Elite Industries Series 5 jumped 2.75% to \$1.08. Delek added 1.75% to NIS 83.99.

Shekron rose 0.5% to NIS 1.19. Blue Square, operator of Co-Op Supermarkets, jumped 2.5% to 26.78. Maman gained 1.75% to 7.19. Kitan eased 0.25% to NIS 4.48. Elbit Medical dropped 2.75% to 15.99 while Elbit Systems was unchanged at NIS 30.46. Haden Paper, moved up 1.75% to 141.64.

Nisa Systems Ltd. dropped 2% to NIS 71.06. (Bloomberg)

Due to technical difficulties, we are unable to provide TASE data. We apologize for the inconvenience.

Marxists threaten to stall Italian car incentives

ROME (Reuters) - Italy's hard-left Communist Refoundation, which guarantees Prime Minister Romano Prodi's parliamentary majority, said over the weekend that it was ready to block government measures to boost the flagging car market.

The cabinet introduced incentives at the start of the year encouraging motorists to trade in aging cars for new ones.

The big winner is likely to be local car firm Fiat, which controls the lion's share of the domestic market.

However, Refoundation leaders said the center-left government was helping Fiat without receiving anything in return.

"We will present an amendment to change this," Refoundation leader Fausto Bertinotti told reporters at a

political rally. "They can give money to Fiat, but only on condition that they receive pledges on industrial policy and employment. You can't hand out incentives for free," he added.

The government scheme, which offers motorists up to two million lire (\$1,300) for swapping in cars over 10 years old, was introduced by decree and has to be approved by parliament.

Prodi's center-left "Olive Tree" coalition has no outright majority in the lower house of parliament and has to rely on Refoundation's 35 deputies to pass legislation.

Refoundation has been flexing its muscles since the start of the year, threatening to block the government's privatization plans along with any reform of the welfare state.

Iran may be heading toward US oil sanctions clash

TEHRAN (Reuters) - Iran is set to award two multimillion dollar oil field contracts that could provoke American sanctions if foreign firms win the deals to carry out development work at the offshore fields.

State-owned National Iranian Oil Company will award contracts to develop its Soroush and Balal offshore oil fields by the end of March, a NIOC manager said over the weekend.

"Final proposals of the interested companies have been received by NIOC and the winners will be announced by the end of March," Seyyed Jalilian, NIOC's director of offshore division said.

European, Asian and Iranian companies were being considered for the work at the two fields, Jalilian added.

US President Bill Clinton signed the Iran-Libya sanctions bill, last year, citing the two states as leading sponsors of international terrorism, a charge Tehran denies.

The law allows Clinton to choose from a broad range of trade and financial penalties against any firm that invests \$40 million or more a year in Iranian and Libyan oil industries.

A \$600m. deal between NIOC and French oil firm Total SA in 1995 was sharply criticized by the Clinton administration, which is seeking to dent Iran's petrodollar export earnings and deny it access to international financing.

The Paris-based firm secured the contract after Clinton barred Houston-based Coococo Inc. from carrying out the deal.

The bill has been strongly opposed by Washington's closest allies, including the European Union, because of its punitive and extra-territorial nature.

Analysts estimate that contracts to develop Soroush and Balal could total some \$250m. and that foreign firms could only escape Washington's sanctions bill by restricting themselves to work contracts below the \$40m. limit.

Foreign companies would get return on their investment under NIOC's so-called "buy-back" formula which gives payment in the form of oil and gas produced at the field.

Production or equity rights in the Islamic Republic's fields are banned under its post-1979 revolution constitution.

Soroush, which was heavily damaged in Iran's 1980-1988 war with Iraq, and the untapped Balal field are set to produce some 130,000 barrels a day of oil at the end of the decade.

Neither field is currently in production.

Tehran needs foreign investment in more than a dozen oil and gas projects because of limited available foreign currency resources and to offset declining production at its major but depleting onshore fields.

Total value of these offshore projects is \$5-6 billion.

Offshore field development is seen by analysts as vital if Iran is to maintain its position as the world's third largest oil exporter and to guarantee it more than \$18b. in annual petroleum earnings.

Kenya moves to calm markets of poll jitters

NAIROBI (Reuters) - Kenya's economic guardians have moved to calm the country's markets ahead of general elections due this year, saying financial abuses that marked the run-up to the polls in 1992 will not be repeated.

Finance Minister Musalia Mudavadi and Central Bank Governor Micala Chesherem have repeatedly said Kenya is on the right economic track and plans to stay there - despite fears the government would attempt to print money to finance an election victory.

Their messages come after a World Bank official said Kenya's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew at only four percent last year, compared to a forecast of six percent and 4.9 percent in 1995.

The government also needs to finance supplies for at least 500,000 people in northern Kenya who face severe food

shortages because of drought. That unbudgeted expenditure will increase the deficit, the experts add.

Chesherem told business leaders in Nairobi last week: "Persistent concerns have been expressed in many quarters that the lax monetary policy experienced in 1992/93 will be repeated in 1997. We would like to give you assurances that this will not be the case."

He added: "The government would not wish to unleash inflationary pressures on the economy through excess money supply, as that would jeopardize its popularity with the electorate."

Chesherem said a new law giving the central bank greater autonomy, guaranteeing security of tenure for the governor and putting a ceiling on government borrowing would ensure sound economic policy. But that law is yet to be debated and passed by parliament.

In the run-up to the December 1992 elections, the government was accused of printing cash to finance the ruling KANU party's campaigns, taking inflation up to 101 percent.

The Kenya shilling fell as low as \$4 to the dollar and interest on government treasury bills soared to nearly 90 percent.

Chesherem's strict monetary stance has cut inflation down to a single digit and brought the shilling to a stable 55 to the dollar.

Interest rates still range from 21 to 33 percent, however, and Chesherem says that is too high.

But financial experts say the election jitters threaten Kenya's investment.

Nairobi Stock Exchange brokers say foreign investors fear a repeat of the events of 1992 and want to see a clear path to monetary stability before deciding to risk their cash.

"Elections are a crucial issue,"

Nygeny Kariuki, a partner at a leading brokerage, said on television.

Last week, Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi carried out a major cabinet reshuffle that brought back to government Nicholas Biwott, one of his closest confidants, after a five-year gap.

Biwott was sacked in 1991 amid allegations of corruption and after he was named by British detectives as one of two "prime" suspects in the 1990 murder of Foreign Minister Robert Ouko.

Western donor agencies and diplomats have said Biwott's return will force them to put a greater focus on corruption and accountability in Kenya because they do not trust Biwott.

"Clearly, a reshuffle leading to the elections should secure local and donor confidence. The inclusion of Biwott undermines that," a Western diplomat said.

Taiwan to regulate mainland investment

TAIPEI (Reuters) - Taipei will regulate investments by major-capital firms in rival China under a proposal that has drawn angry opposition from Taiwan's business sector, a local newspaper reported yesterday.

The United Daily News, without naming its sources, said the Nationalist government planned to set "reasonable regulations" limiting the mainland investments of big-capital businesses - those with \$2.2 million or above in capital.

The regulations would give Taipei more latitude to fine-tune capital flows toward the rival mainland to reflect the current state of Taiwan-China relations, the report said.

The government would also devise a warning system to help firms avoid risky investments in China, it said.

The report gave no details of how proposed regulations would work but said the Economics Ministry was inviting scholars and elected officials to discuss them soon.

Official mainland business ties remain banned and current rules oblige firms to obtain state approval for indirect investments, but the procedures are easily and often skirted by routing capital through overseas subsidiaries.

Many business leaders told the newspaper they felt the new definition of major-capital business was laughably broad.

Under the proposed definition, any firm listed on the Taiwan Stock Exchange or over-the-counter exchange would be subject to the regulations, the report quoted business leaders as saying.

The new rules, once established, would represent a big step backward in business links across the Taiwan Strait, forcing local firms to pass up many business opportunities that current rules would allow them to take, executives told the newspaper.

About 25,000 Taiwan firms have poured more than \$20 billion into mainland China since a political thaw in the late 1980s, but the flow

slowed in 1996 in the face of political tensions and go-slow appeals by Taiwan's leaders.

Frustrated by a political impasse with China and a sagging domestic economy, President Lee Teng-hui has openly expressed his concern that Taiwan risked becoming too dependent on the economy of its arch rival - and thus politically vulnerable.

Beijing has considered the island a rebel-held province since the Nationalists fled to Taiwan after their 1949 defeat by the Communists in a civil war.

Taiwan's cabinet decided last week to delay an easing of travel restrictions that would have allowed more officials, including Taiwan's governor and mayors, to visit the mainland.

Also put on hold were measures to allow mainland journalists to reside in Taiwan for up to two years.

The delays reflected Taipei's anger at Beijing's diplomatic squeeze on the island's few allies.

Iraq to boost Jordan oil grant to \$300m.

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - Iraqi President Saddam Hussein on Saturday raised the oil grant given to Jordan by \$50 million to \$300 million for 1997.

The Iraqi News Agency (INA) said the grant - which is applied to oil Jordan buys from Iraq - was increased during a visit by two Jordanian ministers, who conveyed a verbal message from Jordan's King Hussein on enhancing bilateral ties.

Jordanian officials at the end of December said that in 1997 Amman would buy 4.5 million tons of crude oil and refined oil products from Iraq. The grant will be applied to Jordan's 1997 purchases from Iraq.

"President Saddam Hussein has ordered the increase of the grant submitted by his excellency to the brotherly Jordanian people to \$300m. instead of last year's \$250m.," the agency said.

Saddam met with the Jordanian Trade and Industry Minister Ali Aho Ragheh, and the

minister for energy and mineral resources, Hashem Dabbas, both of whom arrived on Wednesday, INA said.

At the end of December, Dabbas headed a high-ranking trade team to Baghdad to negotiate the amount of oil and refined oil products Jordan would buy in 1997.

That delegation was most senior official mission to Iraq since King Hussein in 1995 gave shelter to two senior Iraqi defectors, turning against Baghdad after years of close ties.

Jordan's oil purchases from Iraq are exempt from United Nations sanctions on Iraq for its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Jordan has been totally dependent on Iraq for its oil supplies since Saudi Arabia stopped the flow of an estimated 40,000 barrels per day (bpd) of crude to punish Amman because of its pro-Iraqi sympathies during the 1991 Gulf War that ousted Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

WHERE TO GO

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Coetzer ends Graf streak

MELBOURNE (AP) — The heat, an infected toe and relentless Amanda Coetzer ended Steffi Graf's 45-match winning streak at Grand Slam tournaments yesterday, and the Australian Open went into the quarter-finals with all three of the top women's seeds out.

Slipping to an early 2-5 deficit for the third consecutive match, Graf this time was unable to save the first set. She charged to a 4-0 lead in the second and reached 5-2 by holding serve in a 17-minute game with 10 deuces.

But then the world No. 1 slumped again in the 38-degree (100F) heat, managing only nine points in the next five games, and bowed out 6-2, 7-5.

It was only the second time in 12 years she had failed to reach the quarter-finals of one of tennis' big four tournaments. She had won the last six she entered.

"I tried everything I could, I tried as hard as I could. I just didn't have the energy with the heat. But give her credit, she handled the conditions really well," Graf said in a statement relayed by the Women's Tennis Association. The WTA said a doctor had sent Graf back to her hotel to rest from heat illness, which had aggravated her toe infection.

Meanwhile, No. 3 seed Conchita Martinez, also a victim of heat exhaustion, fell 2-6, 7-5, 6-1 in 2 hours, 21 minutes to No. 16 Sabine Appelmans of Belgium, who saved two match points at 5-3 in the second set. No. 2 Arantxa Sanchez Vicario lost Saturday.

This was the first time since the open era began in 1968 that none of the top three seeds reached the quarter-finals of a Grand Slam tournament.

Losses by No. 5 Anke Huber, last year's runner-up, and No. 7 Lindsay Davenport, the 1996 Olympic champion, left only No. 4 Martina Hingis of Switzerland surviving among the top seven.

If the 16-year-old Hingis wins the title, she will be the youngest women's Grand Slam singles winner since Lottie Dod won Wimbledon in 1887 at age 15 years, 10 months.

Huber lost 6-2, 6-3 to 1995 Australian champion Mary Pierce. Davenport, who like Graf was hobbled by an infected toe and also had one marathon game, lost 7-6(15-13), 6-4 to Kimberly Po.

There was only one mild upset in yesterday's men's matches. No. 9 Marcelo Rios of Chile was unable to cash in on two match points in the third set, but finally beat No. 7 Thomas Enqvist 4-6, 6-4, 7-6(7-4), 6-7(5-7), 6-3.

Two Spaniards advanced to a quarter-final match against each other. No. 14 Felix Mantilla beat Mala'vai Washington 7-5, 6-2, 6-1,



STREAK BUSTER — Amanda Coetzer stopped Steffi Graf's 45-match win streak yesterday. (AP)

and Carlos Moya outlasted Sweden's Jonas Bjorkman 6-3, 1-6, 3-6, 6-2, 6-4.

Rios will meet No. 2 seed Michael Chang, a 4-6, 6-2, 6-2, 6-1 winner over Andrei Medvedev of Ukraine.

Coetzer, a semifinalist at the Australian Open last year, said she felt pretty good despite the heat, and set out "to work hard on each point." She retrieved shot after shot and often was rewarded with eventual misses by Graf, who had 53 unforced errors to 23 for Coetzer.

It was her second victory over Graf in 11 tries.

"It's always great to beat somebody like that for the first time. But to do it twice really makes me feel good, it gives me a lot of confidence," said the No. 12 seed.

With the top three seeds gone, Coetzer said, "I think it's good that some of the other players can

come up and beat some of the top players. I think it will make it a little bit more exciting in the long run."

It was Graf's first loss in a major since the final of the 1994 US Open. Coetzer last beat her at the 1995 Canadian Open. Her only other loss before the quarter-finals of a major since 1985 came at Wimbledon in 1994, when she fell to Lori McNeil in the first round.

On the morning of the match, Graf abruptly stopped practice after just 25 minutes because of an infected right big toe, on which the nail had been removed, and a groin injury. She also has been bothered in recent days by a stiff back, and has been worried about her father's tax evasion trial.

She now is able to return to Germany for the verdict later this week.

The heat left both Appelmans and Martinez lying on the court

receiving help from trainers at one point late in their match.

"In the end, I was feeling very tired, but I didn't want to show it because I saw she had problems with the heat as well, so I just wanted to pretend I was feeling great, but actually I wasn't," Appelmans said.

She received an IV drip treatment later to replace lost fluids. "After the match, I showered and suddenly everything went — I got cramps all over my body," she said.

Martinez, who also was treated after the match, said, "I started feeling more tired and more tired and suddenly you can't move and your power goes away. ... I guess it could be dangerous, I don't know."

Po's advance to the quarter-finals was the first time she had gone past the third round of a Grand Slam tournament.

Eilat in last-second win

By ELI GRONER

Hapoel Eilat pulled out its second straight last-second victory, highlighting yesterday's round of National Basketball League action. Elsewhere, Herzliya continued its playoff charge, Maccabi Tel Aviv remained ensconced in first place, and Rishon LeZion sent Hapoel Tel Aviv reeling on the road to relegation.

Hapoel Eilat 100
Hapoel Tel Aviv 99 (OT)

Last week Eilat won in the last second. Last night, Holon led until the last second of overtime before James Forrest tipped in a Corey Gaines miss giving the southerners their second straight last-second win. The road victory propelled Eilat right into the thick of the final-four picture.

Forrest scored the last points of regulation as well, sending the game into the extra session.

The game was tight throughout with neither team enjoying a comfortable lead. Holon reached its highest lead, 70-63, immediately after switching to a box-and-one defense, with Assaf Dotan shadowing Amir Katz.

But eventually, Eilat was able to

beat the zone, as Gaines fed Joe Dawson and Forrest in the paint repeatedly. Dawson's terrific performance down the stretch (31 points) helped offset a career-night for Holon's Dotan (20 second-half points).

Holon's Derrick Hamilton paced all scorers with 32.

Maccabi Rishon LeZion 75
Maccabi Tel Aviv 70

Rishon started off the game like a team on a mission, then ended the game as lethargically as it had all year, before squeaking out the home victory over the hapless Tel Aviv club.

Rishon enjoyed a 20-point lead at one point, 63-43 before awful shot-selection and a sudden disappearing act by Doron Jamchee in the last 10 minutes enabled the Tel Avivians to cut the lead to 68-67.

Jamchee had 24 points for the victors. James Gully added 14, to go with his 14 rebounds.

Maccabi Tel Aviv 97
Givat Shmuel 84

Nadav Henefeld's stifling second-half defense coupled with Derrick Sharp's spark off the bench propelled host Tel Aviv to the victory. Henefeld shut down

Gerald Paddio in the second-half while Sharp connected for 17 points (including five three-pointers), enabling the champions to break open a surprisingly tight (48-44 halftime) game.

Bnei Herzliya 82
Maccabi Ra'anana 78

"It was a difficult game, we weren't at our best, but we won nonetheless" — was the recap that coach Muli Katzrin gave after his squad scraped to the home victory. Lior Arditi was his usual fantastic self, scoring 26 points en route to the win, keeping Herzliya's play-off hopes alive.

In tonight's action, Maccabi Ramat Gan travels north to play Galil Elyon. The game will be broadcast live on Channel Five at 8:30 pm.

Team	W	L	Pts.
Maccabi Tel Aviv	12	0	24
Hapoel Jerusalem	7	0	18
Hapoel Eilat	6	6	16
Maccabi Ra'anana	6	6	18
Maccabi Rishon LeZion	6	5	17
Hapoel Galil Elyon	6	5	17
Givat Shmuel	5	7	17
Bnei Herzliya	5	7	17
Hapoel Holon	4	7	18
Maccabi Ashdod	3	7	15
Hapoel Tel Aviv	3	9	15

Curry hits 10,000th point, leads Hornets past Nets

EAST RUTHERFORD (AP) — Dell Curry scored his 10,000th career point and made five 3-pointers Saturday night to lead the Charlotte Hornets to their fourth straight victory, 102-92 over the New Jersey Nets.

Curry, a 10-year veteran who was one of the original members of the Hornets, became the 202nd NBA player to reach the milestone. He did it with his specialty — the 3-point shot — late in the second quarter on his way to scoring 27 points.

Grant Rice had 33 points for Charlotte, including 25 in the first half, to and led the team in scoring for the 11th straight game. Anthony Mason added 20 points and 17 rebounds.

Jayson Williams had 24 points and 16 rebounds and Kendall Gill scored 24 for the Nets, who dropped to 1-20 when scoring less than 100 points and 2-14 against teams from the Central Division.

Suns 105, Knicks 98
Cedric Ceballos scored 31 points and the overcame a 13-point halftime deficit.

Ceballos scored 12 points in the third quarter for the Suns, who beat the Knicks for the seventh straight time at home.

New York guards Chris Childs and John Starks sustained injuries during the game.

Childs was stepped on by teammate Charles Oakley, and left the

game with a mild concussion. Starks was involved in a hard collision with Suns guard Kevin Johnson in the third quarter and suffered a bruised collarbone.

Patrick Ewing had 28 points and 13 rebounds for the Knicks.

Pistons 100, Lakers 97 (2OT)
Grant Hill's triple-double of 34 points, 15 rebounds and 14 assists led visiting Detroit.

Otis Thorpe added 22 points and 11 rebounds for the Pistons, who sent the Lakers to just their fourth loss in 21 games at the Forum this season.

Kobe Bryant's 21 points led the Lakers. Elden Campbell added 19 points, with 15 coming over the final 1:33 of regulation and in the two overtimes.

Shaquille O'Neal had 18 points and 19 rebounds for Los Angeles. Grant Long scored a layup off a pass from Hill that put the Pistons ahead, 98-96, with 19 seconds left in the second overtime.

Campbell's free-throw pulled the Lakers within a point, but Terry Mills made two free throws for Detroit to make it 100-97.

Nick Van Exel missed a desperation 3-pointer for the Lakers with one second left.

Bullets 112, Celtics 106
Chris Webber scored 25 points, including two on a tie-breaking basket with 20 seconds left.

Host Boston used a 12-3 run in the final 3 minutes to tie it 106-106

on Eric Williams' foul-line jumper with 34 seconds to play. Webber then scored underneath despite being fouled with 20 seconds left.

Webber missed his free throw, but Harvey Grant tipped the rebound out to Webber, who was fouled again. He missed both free throws before Grant again tipped the rebound out to Webber, who passed to Rod Strickland.

Strickland was fouled and made both free throws with 14 seconds to play, sealing the win.

Strickland finished with 19 points and Juwan Howard added 17 for Washington, which snapped a three-game losing skid.

Hawks 94, Bucks 71
Mookie Blaylock scored 26 points and led a third-quarter run that helped host Atlanta win its ninth straight game.

Atlanta extended its longest winning streak of the season and matched Chicago for the best active string in the NBA. It was the 16th consecutive victory for the Hawks, whose 16-1 home mark is topped only by Chicago's 19-1 record.

Timberwolves 108, Warriors 93
Kevin Garnett scored a season-high 27 points and keyed a second-half run for host Minnesota.

Garnett scored 13 points when Minnesota outscored Golden State 40-17 over a 13-minute stretch after halftime. Sam Mitchell scored 12 points in the spurt.

St. Petersburg seeking 2004 Olympics

MOSCOW (AP) — The president of the International Olympic Committee was full of praise yesterday for his Russian hosts and St. Petersburg, the northern city that seeks to host the 2004 Olympics.

Juan Antonio Samaranch said Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin "strongly recommended me to think about the candidacy of St. Petersburg."

Samaranch described St. Petersburg, Russia's imperial capital on the Neva River, as "a legend of a city." But he told a news conference that all the 11 cities competing for the right to host the Olympics have equal chances.

During his three-day visit, Samaranch held meetings with Chernomyrdin, Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov and top sports officials of Russia. Samaranch also attended the traditional Olympic gala in the Kremlin.

"Moscow is a very special place for me," said Samaranch, elected IOC president in the Russian capital in 1980.

Chernomyrdin and other senior officials gave Samaranch assurances on security, widely seen as a major problem in crime-plagued Russia. St. Petersburg Mayor Vladimir Yakovlev said Chernomyrdin ordered law enforcement officials to begin creating special units to handle

Olympic security.

Russia's second-largest city is considered a longshot for the 2004 games.

Russia's continuing economic struggles and organizational problems in the 1994 Goodwill Games in St. Petersburg are expected to count heavily against it.

Rome and Stockholm are considered among the front-runners. Other bidders are Athens, Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Istanbul, Lille, France; Rio de Janeiro, San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Seville, Spain.

The IOC will announce its final selection in September.

Recchi is NHL all-star MVP

SAN JOSE (AP) — Owen Nolan got the bats, Mark Recchi the most valuable player award.

With three goals in the first two periods, Recchi was voted the MVP of the 47th NHL All-Star Game on Saturday night.

Nolan, the favorite of the hometown San Jose Sharks, also came

up with a hat trick. But although the fans flooded the rink with hats for Nolan in the time-honored tradition, it was the Montreal Canadiens' right wing who walked off with the big individual prize as the Eastern Conference beat the West 11-7.

Recchi's hat trick was greeted mostly by silence. No hats were tossed by the partisan Western Conference crowd at the San Jose Arena.

Before Recchi and Nolan pulled off the double hat trick, there had only been seven in the 46-game history of the All-Star Game.

Recchi's first MVP award in his fourth All-Star Game overshadowed another fine All-Star performance by Pittsburgh's Mario Lemieux, who had two goals and an assist in perhaps his final appearance in the midseason game.

Lemieux, who has won the MVP award in the All-Star Game a record three times and was the sentimental favorite Saturday night, has said that this is probably

his final season.

Recchi scored his first goal of the night at 15:32 of the first period when he beat Colorado's Patrick Roy down low after receiving a pass from Mark Messier of the New York Rangers.

He then beat Dallas' Andy Moog from in front at 1:56 of the second period, and again at 10:57 on a 2-on-1 with Adam Oates of the Boston Bruins. His third goal gave the East a 9-3 lead.

Recchi had a goal and four assists in his three previous all-star games. He is in his 8th season in the NHL.

Since the MVP award was instituted in 1962, when Toronto's Eddie Shack won it, only four players have been multiple winners — three by Lemieux (1985, 1988 and 1990) and two each by Wayne Gretzky (1983, 1989), Bobby Hull (1970 and 1971) and Frank Mahovlich (1963 and 1969).

Recchi was the 24th forward to win in the 32 years that the award has been presented. Only five of the winners have been goalenders and two have been defensemen.

India bolsters lead in second innings

JOHANNESBURG (AP) — Indian opener Vikram Rautore and Nayan Mongia put up 72 runs without loss yesterday morning, increasing their side's lead to 161 on the fourth day of the third cricket Test against South Africa.

It was the best start of the three-Test series so far by India, which needs to pile runs up quickly in the afternoon, then bowl out South Africa by the end of play today to salvage some pride after losing the first two matches.

India led by 89 runs after the first innings on the strength of its 410 total compared to 321 by the home side. Rautore's 32, which included three fours, was a personal best. Mongia also hit three fours in his 35 as both batters remained unbeaten at lunch.

South Africa missed two chances for an early breakthrough when Mongia was dropped twice before compiling half his total.

On Saturday, allrounders Sham Pollock and Brian McMillan salvaged South Africa's first innings with some aggressive shots on an accommodating wicket at Wanderers.

SCOREBOARD
PREMIER LEAGUE SOCCER — yesterday's results: Nottingham Forest 2, Tottenham 1; Arsenal 3, Everton 1.

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NEWS

in brief

State appeals rape sentence

A man who raped and sodomized his pregnant wife should be given a stiffer sentence, the state said in an appeal to the Supreme Court yesterday.

The man, Aviram Vaknin, was convicted by the Nazareth District Court last year of raping and sodomizing his 19-year-old wife with enough force to cause bleeding and other physical problems. The girl was five months' pregnant at the time.

Following the rape, the girl had an abortion. While she was still recovering from the procedure, suffering heavy bleeding and strong pains, Vaknin raped her again and also beat her.

The district court sentenced him to eight years in prison, out of a maximum possible sentence of 20 years. In its appeal, the state argued that this sentence was far too light, given the serious emotional damage suffered by the victim.

Evelyn Gordon

Hai Vekayam activists acquitted

The Jerusalem Magistrate's Court yesterday acquitted five Hai Vekayam activists of charges of illegal assembly and attacking a policeman who prevented them from entering and praying at the Temple Mount. Judge Ya'acov Tzaban ruled that the defense had not proven that they attacked the policeman and said it was not illegal for them to gather by the Street of Chains entrance to the Temple Mount. Moshe Feiglin, Haim Nativ, and three others had been charged with blocking the entrance to the Temple Mount in April 1995, but a videotape of the incident they submitted as evidence supported their claim that they did not block the gate or attack police. Tzaban ruled.

Tim

Volcker panel to probe document shredding

By BATSHEVA TSUR

Swiss banking experts and government officials will be invited to attend a meeting of the international commission looking into dormant Jewish assets in Swiss banks. The subject will be the destruction of documents at the Union Bank of Switzerland.

Commission Chairman Paul Volcker notified the six commission members that the meeting will be held at the end of this month in Zurich.

In a letter yesterday to Jewish Agency Chairman Avraham Burg, Volcker said he has been in contact with both the Swiss Bankers Association and Swiss government officials regarding a possible breach of the understandings between the Jewish organizations and the SBA. A joint effort, he said, will be made to expose all information regarding accounts of Holocaust victims.

Volcker stressed that, if indeed documents had been destroyed at the UBS, this would be a violation of legislation recently adopted by Switzerland on efforts to reveal the fate of Jewish funds deposited to that country during the Holocaust period.

According to media reports earlier this month, UBS, Switzerland's second largest bank, sent documents for shredding which allegedly contained information on deposits made by Holocaust victims. Burg then wrote to UBS President Mathis Caballavena with a request that he reveal immediately all information relating to the deposits. According to the reports, UBS had the names of some 2,600 Jewish account holders, whose deposits are worth hundreds of millions of dollars, but this list has reportedly disappeared together with the monies.

For their part, UBS heads have asserted that

the banks held only \$34 million belonging to Jews killed in the Holocaust.

Jewish organizations have uncovered documents indicating that UBS also stored valuable art works - looted from Jewish families - for the Nazis. These included masterpieces by Van Gogh and Cezanne, among others.

Documents found by the Jewish organizations purportedly reveal the transfer of large sums of monies from UBS to the Nazis. One such document talks of a sum, equivalent to \$150,000, "provided to the enemy" by UBS during a two-week period during World War II.

Burg, who is one of the six commission members, said yesterday that it was essential that an auditor and investigators appointed by the commission enter each of the Swiss banks to hold spot checks. "We will go from bank to bank until we discover exactly who destroyed how much and when," he said.

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Forecast: Partly cloudy.

AROUND THE WORLD

	C	F	W	F
Amsterdam	04	39	06	46
Berlin	00	32	03	37
Buenos Aires	17	70	18	64
Chicago	09	48	19	66
London	-18	00	-14	00
Los Angeles	02	36	05	41
Madrid	13	56	22	72
Moscow	02	36	05	41
New York	05	41	10	50



On top of things
Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani (right) and Ramat Gan Mayor Zvi Bar look down at the city from the roof of the 22-story-high Shimshon Tower yesterday. Kahalani had been preoccupied over the weekend with the disappearance of his mother, who was found Friday after wandering off the previous day from a old-age home in Ness Ziona.
(Koby Kantor)

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Iraqi prisoners are spies, state says

By EVELYN GORDON

A group of Iraqis who have claimed refugee status here appear to be working for Iraqi intelligence, the state told the High Court of Justice yesterday.

The six came to Israel about three years ago, and have been in prison since. They petitioned the High Court against their continued incarceration more than a year ago, claiming they were refugees and should therefore be set free.

At an earlier hearing, the state said it was not convinced that they were innocent refugees, and was

therefore trying to find another country to take them instead. The court postponed a decision to give the state time to do this.

In a progress report submitted to the court yesterday, the state said that intelligence information indicates that the "refugees" are in fact foreign intelligence agents who came here to spy. Therefore, it said, releasing them would endanger state security.

Even if they were released under certain restrictions, this would not be enough to prevent them from fulfilling their mission, the state said.

Court rules Tzabari's confessions admissible

By RAINE MARCUS

Tel Aviv District Court Judge Oded Mudrich rejected claims yesterday that Elon Tzabari, on trial for stock manipulation, gave confessions under pressure.

Tzabari has for several months conducted a mini-trial, arguing that his admissions to Securities Authority investigators are inadmissible as evidence since they were extracted under pressure.

But Mudrich concluded yesterday that all evidence given by Tzabari, former deputy director of Bank Hapoalim's Gmilot provident fund, is admissible. Tzabari is

on trial for stock manipulation, bribery, fraud and breach of trust.

During his mini-trial, Tzabari said that Securities Authorities investigators had threatened him, saying his wife also would be sent to prison and his children would be left alone. Tzabari has already served a 10-month prison sentence for suborning witnesses in the case.

In another development, Dvora Tomer, former head of Bank Hapoalim's audit division, and convicted on charges of obstructing justice in connection to the Tzabari case, will be sentenced by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court on February 12.

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